CĀṆAKYA-RĀJA-NĪTI

MAXIMS ON RĀJA-NĪTI

COMPILED FROM VARIOUS COLLECTIONS
OF MAXIMS ATTRIBUTED TO CĀṆAKYA

EDITED WITH CRITICAL APPARATUS
BY
LUDWIK STERNBACH, LL.D.

THE ADYAR LIBRARY SERIES

VOLUME NINETY-TWO

चाणक्य-राज-नीतिः

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LUDWIK STERNBACH, LL.D.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABayA	*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Kl.
ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Amd	*Alaṃkāramahodadhi* of Narendraprabha Sūri, GOS 95, 1942.
ĀnSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
AOS	American Oriental Series, New Haven.
AS	Amitagati's *Subhāṣitasaṃdoha*, Sanskrit und Deutsch, herausg. von R. Schmidt, ZDMG 59, 61.
BhP	*Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Traduit et publié par M. Eugène Burnouf, Paris, 1884-98.
BhPr	*Bhojaprabandhaḥ* by Śrīballāla, NSP, Bombay, Śaka 1854. Also *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāladeva of Banaras, ed. by Jagdishlal Shastri, Motilal Banarsidass, Patna, 1955.
BhŚ	*Śatakatrayādi-sūbhāṣitasaṃgraha* of Bhartṛhari, ed. by D. D. Kosambi, (Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23), Bombay, 1948.
Boltz	August Boltz, *Ausgewählte Fabeln des Hitopadeśa*, Leipzig, 1868.
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
BrDh	'Brāhmadharma' in *Pratnakamranandinī*, Benares.
Bṛh	*Bṛhaspatismṛti*, reconstructed by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, GOS 85, 1941.
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series), Bombay.
C	Cāṇakya.
ChSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.
CKl	J. Klatt, *De trecentis Cāṇakyae poetae indici sententiis*, Halis Saxonum.

CKr	O. Kressler, 'Stimmen indicher Lebensklugheit', *Indica* 4, Leipzig, 1907.
CL(=CLr)	Laghucāṇakya version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
CLA	CL; *Rāja-nīti*, Cāṇakyamuni-viracita, Agra, 1920.
CLB	CL; E. Bartoli, 'Un secondo codice fiorentino in-edito di Cāṇakya', (parts 2 and following), *Rivista Indo-greco-italica di Filologia*, vol. 3, fasc. 3-4, pp. 151-66 (first *adhyāya*); also E. Bartoli. 'Il codice napolitano di Cāṇakya', *Rivista Indo-greco-italica di Filologia*, vol. 4, fasc. 3-4, pp. 129-33; and vol. 5, fasc. 3-4, pp. 115-9 (second to eighth *adhyāya*).
CLH	CL; MS H. 250 (first part) in Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
CLI	CL; MS 2411 in India Office Library, London.
CLL I	CL; MS A. 445 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.
CLL II	CL; MS A. 446 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.
CLLd	CL; MS Cod. 8859; UB/123 in University Library, Leiden.
CLP II	CL; MS 17072-2 (C) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CLP IV	CL; MS 17072-4 (D) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CLP V	CL; MS 17072-5 (E) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CLṢ	CL; *Ṣoḍaśa-Cāṇakya*, Bhāvanādāsa-kṛta-Hindī-vyākhyā-sahita, ed. by Śrīdhara Śiva Lāl, Jñāna-Sāgara Press, Bombay, Saṃvat 1932.
CLT	CL; 'Laghucāṇakyam', Sentenze Indiane pubblicate da E. Teza. *Annali delle Università Toscane*, tomo XVI. Pisa, 1879, pp. 352-404.
CLTb	CL; MS or. fo. 1037 in Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

CM	*Cāṇakya*, Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales (Cāṇakya-nītiśataka, Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra, Laghu-cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra, Vṛddha-cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra, Cāṇakya-śloka), par E. Monseur, Paris, 1887.
CN(=CNr)	Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
CNa	Comprise CNŚB, CNŚCV, CNNS, CNNA, CNSS, CNŚlC, CNNSS, CNSJ.
CNb	Comprise CNTC, CNH, CNJV, CNR.
CNF	CN; *Cāṇakyam*, Codice indiano, E. Bartoli, Napoli, 1911.
CNG	CN; 'The Recension of Cāṇakya used by Galanos for his 'Εκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν', by G. M. Bolling in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, 1920.
CNH	CN; *Cāṇakya-śataka* in KSH, pp. 312-22.
CNHU	CN; MS H. 250 in Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
CNI I	CN; MS 1518a (Eggeling 3990) in India Office Library, London.
CNI II	CN; MS Keith 7204 (Tagore 40b) in India Office Library, London.
CNJV	CN; *Cāṇakyaśatakam*, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1926. The same text is reprinted in at least seventy-eight editions, in particular in KSH 312 and KSG 2.385. (Cf. Cr I.1, pp. cxl-cxlvi.)
CNL	CN; MS A. 447 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.
CNM	CN; *Rājanītau Cāṇikyamūni-viracitam*, no place; no date.
CNMN	CN; *Nītisāra*, Cāṇikyamūni-kṛtam (*sic*!). Allahabad, 1880.
CNN	CN; E. Bartoli, 'Un secondo codice fiorentino inedito di Cāṇakya'. (See CLB, first part.)

CNNA	CN; *Cāṇakya-nītiḥ*, Śrīmat-paṇḍitavara-Cāṇakya-viracitā, Sarasvatī Press, Allahabad, 1892.
CNNM	CN; *Cāṇakya-nītimālā*, ed. by Upendra Mohana Chaudhuri, Bengal Art Printing Press, Calcutta, 1324 (1917).
CNNS	CN; Cāṇakya, in *Nītisaṃkalanam*, ed. with a trans. in English by Maharaj K. Krishen Bahadur, Serampore Press, 1831, pp. 1-22.
CNNŚA	CN; *Chāṇakya-nītisāra-saṃgraha*, ed. by P. Adityaram Bhattacharya, 2nd ed., Vedic Press, Allahabad, 1890.
CNNŚC	CN; ' Cāṇakya-nītisāra-saṃgraha', in *Sanskrit-śikṣāvivṛti*, part I, by Pandit K. Lal Śāstri, pub. by B. P. Capoor, Manager, School Depot, Allahabad, 3rd ed. 1899; publ. at the Secular Press, Calcutta, pp. 270-327.
CNNSS	CN; *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgrahaḥ*, Śrīman-nītinipuṇa-Cāṇakya-munivara-viracitaḥ, Dharm Prakash Press, Bankipore, 1885.
CNP I	CN; MS 17072-3(A) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNP II	CN; MS 17072-1(B) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNPh	CN; MS 1566 in University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
CNPN	CN; MS Sanskrit 684 (Cabaton 684) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
CNR	CN; *Rājapraśasti Cāṇakya-śloka*, Calcutta, 1869-72.
CNS	CN; *Cāṇakya-nītivyavahārasāra-saṃgrahaḥ*, ed. with a Marathi trans. by G. S. Sardesai, Kolhapur, Poona Oriental Series 71.
CNŚ	CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, ed. by Śrīrāmaśāstri Bhaṭṭācāryya, Ghose Press, Calcutta, 1319 (1912-3).

CNŚA — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka*, Vaṅgānuvāda-sameta, ed. by Akṣayakumāra Vidyāvinoda, 5th ed., Dāsa Gupta & Co., Calcutta, 1913.

CNŚB — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka*, with a Bengali trans., New Press, Calcutta, 1261 (1853-4).

CNŚC — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka-saṃgraha*, with a Hindi trans., pub. by Taraprasanna Mrityunjay, 1st ed., Calcutta, 1915.

CNŚCV — CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, Cāṇakya-viracitaḥ, Saṃvāda-jñāna-ratnākara Press, Calcutta, 1877.

CNŚJ — CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, Saṃvāda-jñāna-ratnākara Press, Calcutta, 1885.

CNŚK — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka*, with trans. into Bengali, New Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, 1887.

CNŚL — CN; *Aṣṭottaraśata-Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, ed. by Anilcandra Datta with a Bengali trans., Lakṣmī Printing Works, Calcutta. 1322 (1915).

CNŚl — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka-saṃgrahaḥ*, compiled and trans. into Hindi by Nārāyaṇacandra Caṭṭopādhyāya, Rudra Printing Press, Calcutta, 1918.

CNŚlB — CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, Savaṅgānuvādaḥ, Srīrāma-Śāstri-Bhaṭṭācāryyeṇa saṃpāditaḥ, Ghose Press, Calcutta, 1319 (1913).

CNŚlC — CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, Śrīmat-Paṇḍitarāja-Cāṇakya-viracitaḥ, Saṃvāda-jñāna-ratnākara Press, Calcutta, 1929 (1872).

CNŚlK — CN; *Savaṅgālānuvāda Cāṇakya-śloka*, ed. by Kālīkaṇṭha Kāvyatīrtha, Vasāka Press, Calcutta, 1912.

CNŚlV — CN; *Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, Savaṅgānuvādaḥ, ed. by Vijayakṛṣṇanātha, 2nd ed., Girīśa Printing Works, Calcutta, 1320 (1914).

CNŚM — CN; *Cāṇakya-śloka*, with trans., New Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, 1885.

	CNŚPK	CN; *Sa-ṭīkānuvāda Cāṇakya-śataka*, ed. with a Bengali trans. by Prasannakumāra Śāstri-Bhaṭṭācāryya, Shastraprachar Press, Calcutta, 1316 (1909).
	CNSR	CN; *Cāṇakya-sāra*, Savaṅgānuvāda, Śaśibhūṣaṇa Kāvyaratna-praṇīta, 2nd ed., Sūrya Press, Calcutta, 1319 (1912).
	CNŚT	CN; *Cāṇakya-śatakam*, with a Bengali trans. by Rājakumāra Cakravarttī, Svarṇa Press, Dacca-Calcutta, 1319 (1912).
	CnT	etc. See below.
	CNT IV	CN; MS No. 5119, as quoted in CKr as TjD.
	CNTC	12. *Sa-ṭīka-Cāṇakya-śloka-śatakam*, ed. by Īśvara-candra Śarma Śāstri, Calcutta, 1857 (1935).
	CNW	CN; A. Weber, 'Über 100 Sprüche des Cāṇakya', *Monatsberichte der kön. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1865, pp. 400-31.
CnT		Note-book MSS. (Cf. Cr, p. xii.)
	CnT I	CnT; MS No. 5031, as quoted in CKr as TjA.
	CnT II	CnT; MS No. 5117, as quoted in CKr as TjB.
	CnT III	CnT; MS No. 5118, as quoted in CKr as TjC.
	CnT V	CnT; MS No. 5120, as quoted in CKr as TjE.
	CnT VI	CnT; MS No. 5121, as quoted in CKr as TjF.
	CnT VII	CnT; MS No. 5122, as quoted in CKr as TjG.
CPS		*Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, Cāṇakya-praṇīta, ed. by Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstri, Calcutta, 1777.
Cr		Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition (Cāṇakya-Nīti Śākhā-Saṃpradāya) in two volumes—vol. I, part 1: the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (CVr), the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cvr), the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra (CNr), and the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha (CSr) versions; vol. I, part 2: the Laghu-Cāṇakya (CLr) and the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (CRr) versions; vol. II: the

Ur-text. Six versions of collections of Cāṇakya maxims reconstructed and critically edited for the first time, with introductions and variants from original manuscripts, all available printed editions and other materials by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Pb., India), 1963. (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, vols. 27, 28 and 29.)

CR(=CRr) Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CRB CR; MS Sansk. fo. 15 in Bodleian Library, Oxford.

CRBh I CR; MS 347 of 1892-5 in BORI Collection.

CRBh II CR; MS 348 of 1892-5 in BORI Collection.

CRC CR; *Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstram*, ed. by Pt. Isvara Chandra Sastri, Calcutta, 1919. (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 2.)

CRCa I CR; MS Add. 2525 in University Library, Cambridge.

CRCa II CR; MS Add. 1040 in University Library, Cambridge.

CRP CR; MS 1559 in Library of Pennsylvania University, Philadephia, Pa.

CRT CR; 'Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstram', ed. by Sunitikumar Pathak, Tibetan and Sanskrit, *Visva-Bharati Annals*, vol. 8, Santiniketan, 1958.

CS(=CSr) Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha-version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CSB I CS; MS or. fo. 598 in Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

CSB II CS; MS or. fo. 599 in Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

CSBD CS; *Bodhi Cāṇakyam* or *Cāṇakya-sārasaṃgrahaḥ*, by Bh. C. Dutt, Calcutta, 1888.

CSC I	CS; MS Add. 1539 in University Library, Cambridge.
CSC II	CS; MS Add. 1346 in University Library, Cambridge.
CSJ	CS; MS belonging to Professor J. W. de Jong, Leiden.
CSLd	CS; MS Cod. or. 8857; Lub./D 122 in University Library, Leiden.
CStGP	L. Sternbach, 'The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati-Saṃhitā of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa', ABORI, vol. 37, pp. 58-110.
CStH	L. Sternbach, 'Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadeśa', AOS Reprint Series, No. 28.
CStL	L. Sternbach, 'Four unknown Cāṇakya MSS in Leiden', IIJ, vol. 2. 4, pp. 284-94.
CStMn	L. Sternbach, 'Mānava-dharmaśāstra Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia', JAOS, vol. 79, p. 233-254.
CStP	L. Sternbach, 'Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Pañcatantra', *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens.* In Memoriam Ernst Diez; Istanbul, pp. 331-50.
CV(=CVr)	Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
CVAh	CV; *Vṛddha Cāṇakya Nīti Samuccaya*, ed. with Gujarati trans. by Bhaṭṭa Maṇilāl Chabārām Patel, Haribhāi Dalpatrām, Ahmedabad, 1969 (1913).
CVB_1	CV; *Vṛddha-Cāṇakye* (*sic*!), (no title page), Dharmādhiratna Press, Bombay, 1769 (1847).
CVB_2	CV; *Vṛddha-cāṇakya*, Purandar & Company, Madhavabag, Bombay, 1914.
$CVBn_1$	CV; *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇaḥ*, Bhāṣā-ṭīkā-sahitaḥ, Bhārgava Pustakālaya, Gayaghat, Benares, (no date).

CVBn$_2$ CV; *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇaḥ*, Hindī-bhāṣā-ṭīkā-sahitaḥ, Ṭhākur Prasāda Gupta Booksellers, Benares-Bombay (no date).

CVBn$_3$ CV; *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇaḥ*, Master Kheladilal & Sons, 2nd ed., Banares, 1946.

CVBn$_4$ CV; *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa*, Bhāṣā-ṭīkā-tathā-dohā-sahita, Anuvādaka: Pt. Sri Lāl Upādhyāya, Bābū Baijanātha Prasāda Bookseller, Rajadarvaja, Banaras, 1947.

CVG CV; *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti*, Mula śloka Sāthe Gujarātī ṭīkāmām chāpī prasiddha karttā, Haribhāl Dalaparāma Paṭel, 1914.

CVK$_1$ CV; *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa*, Hindī-bhāṣā-ṭīkā, Pt. Harihara Sarmā anuvādita, Hitacintaka Press, Benares, 1922.

CVK$_2$ CV; *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa*, Hindī-bhāṣā-ṭīkā-sahita, Maharājadīna Dīkṣita, Lālā Śyāmalāl Agravāla, Śyāmakāśī Press, 1910.

CVLd CV; MS. Cod. or. 8855; Lub./D 167 in University Library, Leiden.

CVM CV; *Vṛddha-Cāṇakhya*, Bhaṭa Bālakarāma Nandarāma Māṇḍavikara, NSP, 1874.

CVND CV; *Cāṇakyanītidarpaṇa*, Bhāṣā-ṭīkā-sahita, Bhārgava Pustakālaya, Gayaghat, Banaras, no date. The same text is reprinted in at least sixty-four editions and a great number of MSS contain the same text. (Cf. Cr I. 1, pp. xxviii-xxxiv.)

CVNS CV; *Vṛddha Cāṇakya Nīti Samuccaya*, see CVAh.

CVP CV; *Vṛddhā-cāṇakhya*, Marathi-anuvāda-sameta, Jagaddhitecchu Press, Poona, 1870.

Cv(=Cvr) Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CvA Cv; *Rāja-nīti*, Cāṇakya-muni-viracita, Agra, 1920.

CvGt Cv; MS Cod. MS. Sanscr. 64 in Niedersächsiche Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

CvH	Cv; MS H. 250 in Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
CvI	Cv; MS 2411 in India Office Library, London.
CvL I	Cv; MS A. 445 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.
CvL II	Cv; MS A. 446 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.
CvLd	Cv; MS Cod. or. 8859; UB/123 in University Library, Leiden.
CvP IV	Cv; MS 17072-4 (D) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CvP V	Cv; MS 17072-5 (E) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CvṢ	Cv; *Ṣoḍaśa-Cāṇakya.* See CLṢ.
CvTb	Cv; MS or. fo. 1037 in Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.
CvW	Cv; MS Walker 205c in Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Dh	*Dharmakośa*, ed. by Laxmanashastri Joshi, Prājñapāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala, Wai, 1937-47.
DhN	*Dharmatattvanirṇaya-pariśiṣṭam*, ĀnSS 98, 1929.
DhN(P)	The Dhammanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*; or *The Nīti Literature of Burma* by J. Gray, London, Trübner & Co., 1886. (Pāli)
DhSP	*The Parāśara Dharma Samhitā*, ed. by Vāman Śāstri Islāmapurkar, BSS 47, 48, 59, 64, 67, 74.
Dhv	*Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana, KM 25.
DK	Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata*, in KM III.
DKB	Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata*, Gujarati Press, Bombay, 1924.
GN	*Ghaṭakarpara Nītisāra.* In KSG 1.374 sqq.
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
GP	*Garuḍapurāṇam*, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1890.

GPy *Garuḍapurāṇam*, Paṇḍitavara-śrīyukta-pañcānana-tarkaratnena saṃpāditam, Calcutta, 1890.

GR Bhavabhūti, *Guṇaratna* in KSG 1.299.

H *Hitopadeśa.*

Han *Hanumannāṭaka.* See Mahān.

Har *The Harivaṃśa*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1839.

HC *Hitopadeśa*, or salutary instruction in the original Sanskrit, ed. by H. T. Colebrooke, Serampore, 1804.

HDh Halāyudha, *Dharmaviveka* in KSG 1.381.

HeK Hemavijaya, *Kathāratnākara* by Śrīhemavijayagaṇī. MS form, Pt. Śrāvak Hīrālāl Haṃsarāj, Jāmnagar, 1911.

HH *The Hitōpadeśa in the Sanskrita language*, Library, East-India House, London, 1810.

HJ *Hitopadeśa*, the Sanskrit text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged by F. Johnson, 2nd ed., Hartford-London, 1864.

HK *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa*, ed. with a Sanskrit commentary and notes in English by M. R. Kale, 5th ed., Bombay, 1924.

HM *The First Book of the Hitopadeśa*, and *The Second, Third and Fourth Books of the Hitopadeśa*, Sanskrit text, ed. by Max Müller, London, 1865.

HN Nārāyaṇa, *Hitopadeśa*, nach der nepalischen Handschrift N neu herausgegeben von Heinrich Blatt, Berlin, 1930.

HOS Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass.

HP *Hitopadeśa* by Nārāyaṇa, ed. by Peter Peterson, BSS 33, Bombay, 1887.

HS *Hitopadeśas*, id est *Institutio Salutaris*. Textum codd. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt Augustus Guilelmus a

Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscritum tenens, 1829. Pars II: commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1831, typis regiis. Prostat apnd Eduardum, Weber, bibliopolam Bonnensem.

IIJ *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 's-Gravenhage.

IS *Indische Sprüche*, Sanskrit und Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe, I-III, St. Petersburg, 1870-3.

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

JM Jālhaṇa's *Mugdhopadeśa*, in KM VIII.

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

JS *The Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa, ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya, GOS 82, 1938. Also MS BORI 1424 of 1887-91, an anonymous Jaina *Subhāṣitāvalī*, dated Saṃvat 1673, as quoted in BhŚ.

JSS *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok.

JSV MS BORI 1425 of 1887-91, fo. numbered 241-347, as quoted in BhŚ.

K *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, ed. by R. Shama Sastri, 3rd ed., Oriental Library Publications Sanskrit Series 37, 64, Mysore.

Kāk *Kāvyakalāpa*, A Sanskrit anthology being a collection of the best 37 smaller poems in the Sanskrit language, pub. by H. Hirachand, Ganpal Krishnaji's Press, 1864.

KāP *Kāvyapradīpa* of Govinda, KM 24.

Kās *Saṃskṛta-kāvya-saṃgrahaḥ*, as quoted in IS.

Kk *Kavitāmṛtakūpa Satpadyaratnākara*, Calcutta School-Book Society's Press, 1828.

KK *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, Rāja-dharma-kāṇḍa, GOS 100, 1943.

KM	Kāvyamālā, published by NSP, Bombay.
KN	*Kāmandakīya-nītisāraḥ*, ed. by Rājendralāl Mitra, Bibl. Ind. 4, Calcutta, 1861-4.
Kpr	*Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa. BORI, 1950.
KS	Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā*, KM 10.
KṣB	*The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, KM 69. Also *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣemendras Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Leo von Mankowski, Leipzig, 1892.
KSG	*Kāvyasaṃgrahaḥ*, Pañcasaptati-saṃskṛta-kāvyātmakaḥ, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, 3rd ed., Calcutta, Sarasvatī Press, 1888.
KSH	*Kāvyasaṃgraha*, A Sanskrit anthology, being a collection of the best smaller poems in the Sanskrit language, by Dr. J. Haeberlin, Calcutta, 1847.
KSS	'Kathāsaritsāgara', ed. by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, Paris, 1839. AKM 2.5, 4.5.
Kt	*Kathārṇava*, as quoted in IS.
Kvn	*Kuvalayānanda*, as quoted in IS.
Lāu	'Initial List of Lāu Proverbs', Appendix D to 'On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions', by Col. G. E. Gerini, JSS 1, pp. 116 sqq.
LN(P)	The Lokanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*. See DhN(P). Also in JASB 47, part I, Calcutta, 1878, pp. 239 sqq.
Mahān	*Mahānāṭaka*, as quoted in IS.
MBh	*Śrīmahābhāratam*, ed. by Protapa Chandra Roy, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1886-8.
MK	*The Mādhavānala-kathā*, ed. by P. E. Pavolini, IX Congress of Orientalists, London, I, pp. 430-56.

Mn	*Manusmṛti* with the *Manubhāṣya* of Medhātithi ed. by MM. Ganganatha Jha, vols. 1-2, Bibl. Ind. 256, Calcutta, 1932.
MP	*The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, ed. by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Bibl. Ind. 29, Calcutta, 1862.
Mṛcch	*Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, 8th ed., NSP, 1950.
MŚ	*The Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha with the comm. (*Sarvaṅkaṣā*) of Mallinātha, 11th ed., NSP, 1940.
Nav	*Navaratna*, in KSH 1-3.
NKy(B)	*Nīti Kyan*, 'Translation of a Burmese Version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli' (Burmese), JRAS 17, 1860, pp. 252 sqq.
NM(T)	'Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa, Tibetan and Sanskrit', ed. by Sunitikumar Pathak, *Visva Bharati Annals*, vol. 10, Santiniketan, 1961 (Tibetan).
NP	*Nītipradīpa* by Vetāla Bhaṭṭa in KSG 1.366.
NPr	*Nītiprakāśikā*, ed. by G. Oppert, Madras-London, 1882.
NPR	*The Nārada-pañcarātra*, ed. by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Bibl. Ind. 38, Calcutta, 1865.
NS	*The Nītisaṃkalanam*. See CNNS.
NŚ(OJ)	*Nītiśāstra: Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling*, ed. by R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjarka, Bibliotheca Javanica 4, Bandoeng, 1933, (Old Javanese).
NSP	Nirnaya-sagar Press, Bombay.
NT	*Nītiśāstra* in Telugu, as quoted in IS.
NV	*Nītivākyāmṛta* by Somadevasūri, ed. by Pt. Pannālāla Soni, Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 22, Bombay, 1922.
P (or Pañc)	*Pañcatantra*.
Pad	*Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Aṅkolakara, KM 89.
Pady	*Padyasaṃgraha* in KSH 529.

PD — 'The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha', by A. Venkatasubbiah, *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik*, 6.255 sqq.

PKS — J. Hertel, 'Über einige HSS von Kathāsaṃgraha-strophen', ZDMG 64, pp. 58 sqq.

PM — 'Eine vierte Jaina-Recension des Pañcatantra', (Meghavijaya) von J. Hertel, ZDMG 57, pp. 639 sqq.

PN — *Pañcatantra*, Nepali text, as quoted in PRE I, pp. 192-258 and PT I, pp. 117-35; PS, pp. 100-26.

PP — *The Pañcatantra*, in the recension called *Pañcākhyānaka* of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra, ed. by J. Hertel, HOS 11-2, 1908-12.

Pras — *Prasaṅgābharaṇam* of Śrīmatkavikulatilaka, Gopal Narayan and Co., Bombay, (no date).

PrC — *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅgācārya, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni, part I, Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 1, Śāntiniketan, 1933.

PRE — *The Pañcatantra*, I-V, the text in its oldest form, ed. by F. Edgerton, Poona, 1930. Also: *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed* by F. Edgerton, 2 vols., AOS 2-3, 1924.

PS — 'Das südliche Pañcatantra: Sanskrittext der Recension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Recension a', herausg. von J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss*, XXIV.5, Leipzig, 1906.

PT — 'Über das Tantrākhyāyika, die Kaśmirische Rezension des Pañcatantra mit dem Texte der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145', herausg. von. J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön., sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, XXII. 5, Leipzig, 1904. Also *The Pancatantra*, (PTem) the Kashmirian Recension entitled *Tantrākhyāyika (editio minor)* by J. Hertel, HOS 14,

1915. Also *Tantrākhyāyika,* die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von J. Hertel, I-II, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1909.

Pts — *Pañcatantra (textus simplicior),* ed. with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), BSS 1, 3, and 4, 1891-6.

PtsK — *Pantschatantrum,* sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens. Edidit Io. Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1848.

R — *Rāmāyaṇa,* Bombay ed., Reprinted, Bombay.

RJ — *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Calcutta, 1944.

RK — *The Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, KM 2.

RN(P) — The Rājanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources.* See DhN(P).

RRK — *Rājanīti-ratnākara* by Caṇḍeśvara, ed. by Kashiprasad Jayaswal, Bihar and Orissa Research Soc., Patna, 1936.

RT — *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Kalhaṇa, ed. and commented by M. A. Troyer, 3 vols., Paris, Imprimérie Nationale, 1852.

SA — *Subhāṣitārṇava,* MS BORI 1498 of 1886-92, as quoted in BhŚ.

Śānt — *Das Śāntiśataka,* mit Einleitung, kritischem Apparat, von K. Schönfeld, Leipzig, 1910.

Sar — *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* in Aufrecht's *Auswahl von unedirten Strophen verschiedener Dichter,* ZDMG 25. Also KM 94.

ŚB — *The Budhabhūṣaṇa* of King Śambhu, ed. by H. D. Velankar, BORI, 1928.

SBH — *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Śrīvara, MS BORI 203 and 204 of 1875-76, as quoted in BhŚ.

SG — *Subhāṣitārṇava* of Gopīnātha, MS BORI 820 of 1886-92, as quoted in BhŚ.

ShD(T)	*She-rab Dong-bu or Prajnya Danda* by Li-Thub (Nāgārjuna), ed. and trans. by W. L. Campbell, Calcutta, 1919 (Tibetan).
SHV	*Subhāṣitahārāvali* of Harikavi, MS BORI 92 of 1883-84, as quoted in BhŚ.
SK	*Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhaṭṭaśrīkṛṣṇa, MS BORI 93 of 1883-84, as quoted in BhŚ.
ŚKDr	*Śabdakalpadruma*, I-V, 1821-44.
SKG	*Subhāṣitakhaṇḍa* of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa, Rājāpūr, as quoted in BhŚ.
SKM	*Sūktimuktāvali* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa, ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya, GOS 82, 1938.
Skm	*Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhardāsa, Punjab Or. Ser. 15, Lahore, 1933.
SkV	*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* by Vidyākara, ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, HOS 42, 1957.
SL	*Subhāṣitaślokāḥ*, MS BORI 324 of 1881-82, as quoted in BhŚ.
Ślt(OJ)	*Ślokāntara*, an old Javanese didactic text, ed. by Sharada Rani, Dvīpāntarapiṭaka, Śatapiṭaka Series 2, International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi, 1957.
SLP	*Śṛṅgārālāpa*, MS BORI 92 of 1883-84, as quoted in BhŚ.
SM	A Jaina Anthology, MS BORI 1396 of 1884-87, as quoted in BhŚ.
SMV	*Subhāṣitamuktāvali*, MS BORI 819 of 1886-92, as quoted in BhŚ.
SN	BORI 1423 of 1887-91 (no title), as quoted in BhŚ.
SN(P)	The Suttavaḍḍhananīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*. See DhN(P).
ŚP	*The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara*, a Sanskrit anthology, ed. by Peter Peterson, vol. I, BSS 37, 1888.
SR	*Saptaratna* in KSG 1.284.

ṢR	*Ṣaḍratna* in KSG 1.280.
SRBh	*Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*, enlarged 8th ed., NSP, Bombay, 1952.
SRHt	*Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 141, Trivandrum, 1938.
SRK	*Subhāṣitaratnākara*, a collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit, compiled and ed. by Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī Bhāṭavaḍekar, Bombay, 1872.
SRN(T)	'Sa-skya legs-bcad. Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi', W. L. Campbell, Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge 2 of 1925, pp. 31-65, 159-185, (Tibetan and Mongolian).
SS	*Subhāṣitasāgara*, MS BORI 424 of 1899-1915, as quoted in BhŚ.
SSD	*Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka, MS BORI 228 of the later additions, as quoted in BhŚ.
Sskṛ	*Saṃskṛta-pāṭhopakāraka*, Calcutta, Śaka 1761, as quoted in IS.
SS(OJ)	*Sārasamuccaya* in Śatapiṭaka Series 24, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira, New Delhi, 1962, (Old Javanese).
SSS	*Sūktisundara* of Sundaradeva, Calcutta, 1943.
SSV	*Sārasūktāvali*, MS BORI 1492 of 1886-92, as quoted in BhŚ.
ST	*Subhātaraṅga* of Jagannātha Miśra, MS BORI 416 of 1884-87, as quoted in BhŚ.
Śto	'Der Textus ornatior der Śukasaptati', von Richard Schmidt, ABayA 21, Abth. 2, 1898-9.
Śts	'Die Śukasaptati, textus simplicior', von Richard Schmidt, AKM 10.1, Leipzig, 1893.
SU	MS BORI 527 of 1887-91 indexed as *Subhāṣita*, as quoted in BhŚ.

SuB *Śrīsūktāvali*, Codice Indiano, edito dal Dre. E. Bartoli, Napoli, 1911.

Subh *Subhāṣitārṇava*, as quoted in IS.

Śukr *Śukranītisāraḥ*, Śrīmat Śukrācāryyaviracitaḥ, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1890.

SuM *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*, ed. by R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona, 1962.

SV *The Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva*, ed. by Peter Peterson, BSS 31, 1886.

TK(OJ) *Tantri-Kāmandaka*, Een Oudjavaansche Pañtja-tantra-Bewerking, door Dr. C. Hooykaas, Bibliotheca Jävanica 2, Bandoeng, 1931, (Old Javanese).

TP M. W. Carr, *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs* translated, illustrated and explained together with some Sanskrit proverbs printed in Devanāgarī and Telugu characters, Madras, 1868.

Vyās(C) 'Vyāsakāraya' in *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon*, herausg. von Heinz Bechert, I Teil, *Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Beiheft D. München, 1962.

Vānar or VāY *Vānarāṣṭaka* in KSG 1. 321.

Vānary *Vānaryyaṣṭaka* in KSG 1.324.

VC *Vikrama's Adventures*, or *The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne*, in four recensions: Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr.), ed. by Franklin Edgerton, 2 vols,, HOS 26, and 27, 1926.

Vet 'Die Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa . . .', ed. by Heinrich Uhle, AKM 8.1.

Vi *Viṣṇusmṛti* or *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, ed. by Julius Jolly, Bibl. Ind. 91, Calcutta, 1881.

VīrL *Vīramitrodayaḥ*, Lakṣaṇaprakāśaḥ by Mitra Miśra, ed. by Pt. Viṣṇu Prasād, ChSS 30.5, 1916.

VīrR	*Vīramitrodayaḥ*, Rājanītiprakāśaḥ by Mitra Miśra, ed. by Pt. Viṣṇu Prasād, ChSS 30.6, 1916.
Viv	*Vivādacintāmaṇiḥ* of Vācaspatimiśra, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay.
VN	Vararuci, *Nītiratna* in KSG 1. 305 sqq.
VP	'*Padyataraṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha,' Pratīka-s from the study of N.A. Gore, in *Poona Orientalist*, vol. 11, pp. 45-56.
VS	*Vidyākarasahasrakam* by Vidyākara Miśra, ed. by Umesh Mishra, Allahabad University Publications Skt. Series 2, 1942.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

A. INTRODUCTION

CĀṆAKYA—VIṢṆUGUPTA—KAUṬILYA

1. *Vātsyāyane mallanāgaḥ kauṭilyaś caṇakātmajaḥ*
drāmilaḥ pakṣilasvāmī viṣṇugupto 'ṅgulaś ca saḥ.[1]

These are the names under which one of the greatest celebrities of India was known—Cāṇakya, the Brāhmaṇa from Takṣaśilā, the minister of king Candragupta Maurya and the master of polity. He was Vātsyāyana—the author of *Kāmasūtra*,[2] Mallanāga—the driver, the leader in battle, Kauṭilya—the politician,[3] Cāṇakya—the moralist, Drāvila,[4] Pakṣila—the logician, Viṣṇugupta—the astronomer, and Aṅgula—the mathematician.[5]

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[1] Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, ed. by O. Böhtlingk and Ch. Rieu, St. Petersburg, 1847, vv. 853-4.

[2] See R. Shama Sastry, 'A Note on the Supposed Identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya', *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 7, pp. 210-6; H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, 1954, p. 24.

[3] Or Kauṭalya from the name of the *gotra*.

[4] The text has however *drāmila*, an inhabitant of Southern India.

[5] *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, ed. by Narayana Sinha, Benares, 1844, p. 33, vv. 82-3 reads: *viṣṇuguptas tu kauṇḍinyaḥ* (for Kauṭilya [*Sārārthacandrikā* comm.]) . . . *aṃśulaḥ* (for *aṅgulaḥ* [*Sārārthacandrikā* comm.]).

2. Next to the heroes of the epics and the Purāṇa-s no name was more familiar to Indians than that of Cāṇakya. The very fact that almost universal adoration was paid to his memory shows that Cāṇakya was regarded in his own days as a master whose worldly wisdom and foresight had gained for him the veneration of his contemporaries. Their reverence has been transmitted from one generation to another and his real history having been forgotten, tradition has surrounded his name with a halo of intellectual glow that has marked him out for the spontaneous veneration of posterity, not only in India, but also in the ancient world outside.[1]

3. Among the Purāṇa-s, the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* preserved the tradition that Kauṭilya had destroyed the Nanda-s and through his diplomacy had put Candragupta Maurya on the throne.[2] The *Mudrārākṣasa*[3] and the *Cāṇakya-kathā* are also devoted to this story. The most prominent character in these works, Cāṇakya, is represented as a clear-headed, self-confident, intriguing, hard politician, with the ultimate end of his ambition thoroughly well-determined, and directing all his clear-headedness and intrigue to the accomplishment of that end. As such he is depicted in the *Mudrārākṣasa* rather as *kuṭila*—crooked—than as

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[1] N. C. Banerjee, *Kauṭilya*, pp. 1-2.

[2] ibid., p. 3.

[3] See text in BSS 27 and Introd. by K. T. Telang. Cf. W. Ruben, 'Das Siegel und Rākshasa', *Der Sinn des Dramas*, Berlin, 1956.

a moralist. Probably that is why not a single one of the 2438 aphorisms and maxims in the various collections attributed to Cāṇakya can be found in the whole of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[1]

4. From most ancient times Cāṇakya—Viṣṇugupta—Kauṭilya has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthaśāstra. We also find Kauṭilya's name as a writer on polity in Jain and Buddhist tradition.[2] Kāmandaki in his *Nītisāra* made a reverential mention of Cāṇakya whom he called by his own name—Viṣṇugupta. He said: Salutation to the highly intelligent Viṣṇugupta who sprang from an extensive and illustrious dynasty, the descendants of which lived like *ṛṣi-s* accepting alms from nobody; to him whose renown became world-wide; to him who was effulgent like the highly blazing fire; to that most artful and cunning one, the foremost of those conversant with Paramārtha, who mastered the four Veda-s, as if they were only one—salutations to that one whose fire of energy was like the flash of lightning, and through whose magical powers that resembled in potency and in fury the thunderbolt, the renowned, powerful and mountain-like dynasty of Nanda was eradicated for good. Salutations to him who resembled the god Śaktidhara himself in prowess and who, single-handed,

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[1] Probably with the exception of one beginning with the words *patiṃ tyaktvā* (6. 6). In two of the CnT MSS., there is a stanza beginning with the same words (CnT II 23.10 and CnT III 57.4). Cf. CKr, pp. 104-5.

[2] N. C. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 4.

by means of his *mantraśakti* and *utsāhaśakti*, brought the entire earth under the thorough control of Candragupta. Salutation to that wisest of counsellors who collated the nectar-like Nītiśāstra-s from the mighty ocean of the Arthaśāstra-s.[1]

5. Later, authors on *nīti* and *kathā* literature repeatedly cited Cāṇakya's or Kauṭilya's name in connection with his mastery of the science of polity, as also did the *Pañcatantra* (*Tantrākhyāyikā*), Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita*,[2] and the Purāṇa-s.[3] He was also mentioned in other works, such as Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and the *Cāṇakyakathā*, by Kṣemendra and by many other ancient Indian authors. Cāṇakya was universally looked upon as one of the greatest authorities on the science of polity,[4] morals and ethics [5] and even as an author on medicine.[6]

Collections of Maxims, Their Contents and Authorship

6. In saluting Cāṇakya as the wise and celebrated author who had extracted from the ocean of Arthaśāstra

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[1] KN 1. 4-8, M. N. Dutt's translation.

[2] N. C. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 4.

[3] F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 69-70; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, ed. by Jivananda, Calcutta, 1882, 4.24.4-7.

[4] Not only in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* but also in his *sūtra-s* on Indian polity.

[5] N. C. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 6.

[6] Probably of the *Vaidyajīvana*.

the nectar of the Nītiśāstra,[1] Kāmandaki probably meant to say that Viṣṇugupta had extracted from the textbook of Arthaśāstra the moral sayings on *nīti*, Cāṇakya's famous aphorisms and maxims with a moral and ethical background.[2]

7. Collections of these maxims are generally known as *rājanītiśāstra*, or *rājanītisamuccaya*, or epitomes of polity, although they do not contain now many aphorisms dealing with *rāja-nīti*.

Many texts of collections of Cāṇakya's maxims open with the introductory stanza, beginning with the words *praṇamya śirasā viṣṇum*. The second half of this stanza promises to deal with *rājanītisamuccaya*. The reader will be however sorely disappointed in finding anything of a like nature.[3] Nevertheless ' Nīti maintains its place as an element of equal rank [with the epos, Purāṇa-s, etc.] and need not fear obscuration by comparison with other brilliant lights '.[4] Sometimes whole chapters are devoted to *nīti*,[5] but in some texts containing Cāṇakya's maxims the number of stanzas which can be assigned to *nīti* is negligible.[6] It is most

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[1] नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः ।
समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ (1.6)

[2] It is also possible that Kāmandaki simply meant that he had extracted the book on political science, now known under the name of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

[3] Bh. Chaund Dutt in the Introd. to CSBD, p. xi.

[4] J. van Manen in the Foreword to CRC, p. i.

[5] cf. *infra* para 20.

[6] In particular in the Laghu Cāṇakya version we find very few maxims dealing with *nīti*.

likely that the original collections of maxims known today as the work of Cāṇakya contained a choice of maxims from a treatise on polity attributed to Cāṇakya, to which at a later date, other maxims and aphorisms, not necessarily connected with polity but with other subjects, in particular morals and ethics, were successively added.[1] Political topics receded, moral and ethical became prominent.[2] With the passage of years, the word *rāja-nīti* probably lost its meaning of kingship and government and acquired the connotation of excellent, noble behaviour, not technically royal, but still moral.[3] The term *rāja-nīti* was, in any case, not meaningless, since the maxims and aphorisms contained in Cāṇakya collections contain moral and ethical maxims which could be meant for the guidance of kings in the performance of their duties, though they should be profitably followed by all men in their dealings with others in the conduct of worldly affairs.[4] This seems even more true if we compare our Cāṇakya collections with the Burmese Nītiśāstra-s [5] (the Lokanīti, Rājanīti, Dhammanīti, Suttavaḍḍhananīti and Nīti Kyan) which borrowed extensively from Cāṇakya.

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[1] cf. E. Monseur in CM, p. xiii; O. Kressler in CKr, pp. 15 sqq.; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1920, III, p. 135.

[2] cf. J. Klatt in CKl, p. 14.

[3] cf. J. van Manen, op. cit., p. xiv. In the present study the term *rāja-nīti* is used in its classical sense.

[4] N. N. Law in the Foreword to CRC, pp. xvii-xix.

[5] cf. J. van Manen, op. cit., p. xv.

collections. While the maxims in Cāṇakya collections apply to human beings and human affairs in general, they refer in the Burmese sources to the king; *nara* was changed there to *rāja*. Thus maxims dealing with qualities of certain animals which should be imitated by men (in some Cāṇakya versions), are recommended for imitation by kings in the Burmese texts. Several such examples have been found.[1]

8. Indian writers have mastered the art of didactic and gnomic poetry and acquired complete facility in expressing their thoughts with conciseness and originality through a variety of literary media the more typical of which were similes and metaphors; the thoughts were expressed with precision and were often rendered in the form of paradoxes. These general thoughts, turned into truth drawn on wisdom and experience, were condensed into aphorisms, maxims, sayings, adages, and proverbs. They often appeared in India in such literary works as tales, epics, dramas, novels and Dharmaśāstra-s, but most of all in special collections of maxims and aphorisms—the Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s, a literary form to which Indians took a particular liking. One of the most famous collections

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[1] See vv. 11-8 in text. Cf. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, p. 196. Differently V. Henry in *Les Littératures de l'Inde*, Paris, 1904, p. 238; referring to Cāṇakya's aphorisms Henry said: '*Quand le ton n'y descend pas à la banalité ou même à la platitude, il ne s'élève du moins jamais au-dessus d'une sagesse terre-à-terre versifiée que bien que mal. Cāṇakya a rarement des idées qui ne soient pas celles de tout le monde.*' An excellent rebuttal to this view was given by E. Bartoli in his CLB, pp. xiii sqq.

of aphorisms and maxims is that attributed to Cāṇakya. This collection, or better to say collections of maxims and aphorisms, is known to exist in different forms and under different titles. It is also one of the richest and finest collections of the gnomic Sanskrit literature.

In addition to *rāja-nīti* these collections contain a primer of principles of morality of high ethical value, many of which are generally accepted not only in India, but all over the world. They deal with a variety of ethical and religious topics, with the worldly wisdom of Indians, with their *savoir-vivre*, with intercourse among men, general reflections on richness and poverty, fate and human effort, women, as well as with the conduct of life of the Indians, with their daily work, daily sorrows and daily pleasures, not excluding such topics as eating and drinking. Consequently, the collections of Cāṇakya aphorisms and maxims, deal with a variety of topics, included often in a haphazard way, a characteristic feature of all Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s. As a rule stanzas are not connected by any bond of thought; each stanza is normally complete in itself, although there are exceptions. Quite often we find a pair of verses on the same subject, and sometimes several verses deal with the same subject, such as women, different kinds of Brāhmaṇa-s, things to be learnt from animals: the lion, the heron, the cock, the crow, the dog, the donkey, etc.[1]

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[1] O. Kressler conducted some studies in this direction (cf. CKr, pp. 15 sqq.)

Probably the collections of Cāṇakya maxims possess a fairly old traditional nucleus;[1] they belong neither to *nīti* proper, nor to *kāvya* proper; many of these maxims and aphorisms can be identified in other works of Indian literature, in particular the epics, Purāṇa-s, Dharmaśāstra-s, *kāvya* and *kathā* literature and many can be found also in other Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s. This identity of aphorisms and maxims does not imply direct borrowing one from the other, in view of the fact that the floating mass of oral tradition may have served as a common depositary for the borrowing.[2] Many collections attributed to Cāṇakya in the opening line

[1] cf. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, op. cit., p. 196.

[2] Some MSS. contain many stanzas which also occur in Vet. (cf. CM, p. 10), but all MSS. and editions contain a great number of stanzas which also occur in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. Cf. CStP and CStH; the author found 200 and 164 Cāṇakya stanzas respectively in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. He showed that aphorisms contained in the HJ 2.118, 121, 147 and 4.5 which formally formed the prefatory or concluding stanzas were reflected in the body of the story that follows, just as the animals around which the subsequent story was built were also the principal characters in the stanzas. He stated, for instance, in CStH that in HJ 2.119 the maxim *ab* reads: 'that which could not be accomplished by prowess may be affected by stratagem', while *cd* referred to the next tale dealing with the hen crow and the black serpent and reads: 'a hen crow by (means of) a gold chain caused a black serpent to be put to death'. Since these two lines originated in the P, the main source for the H, it can be also assumed that a compiler of some Cāṇakya aphorisms or a scribe included these lines at a date later than that of the P or the H. In these cases it was not the P or the H that 'borrowed' from Cāṇakya, but as it were, the opposite happened.

acknowledged that they had drawn upon ('taken from'—*uddhṛta*) different *śāstra-s* (*nānāśāstra*); this supports the inference that they were to a great extent compilations.[1] The fact however that the same maxims were found very often in one or another collection of maxims and, particularly, in more than one version of Cāṇakya's maxims seems to prove that the particular maxim was rightly attributed to Cāṇakya, though it does not prove that such a maxim, if found also in other sources of Sanskrit literature, was borrowed from the latter source; very often the opposite occurred.

9. Sometimes no direct 'borrowing' occurred, but the author or compiler of a collection of Cāṇakya maxims built around a well-known maxim a new one;[2] sometimes from a short *sūtra* he formed a highly elaborated *kāvya* aphorism.[3] Very often the collections contain new versions of previously known aphorisms or maxims, or combinations of two well-known aphorisms or maxims, e.g. the first two *pāda-s* from one and the third and fourth *pāda-s* from another aphorism or maxim.

10. It has been said before that collections of aphorisms and maxims attributed to Cāṇakya have become compilations of aphorisms from various sources gathered without any leading principle. This

[1] cf. N. N. Law, op. cit., p. xix.

[2] For instance very often in CNN.

[3] It occurred quite often in the CR version. Cf. also CKr., p. 35.

assumption leads to one further step, i.e. to the authorship of the collections. The general opinion of all authors on Indian literature was that, despite the tradition which accepted Cāṇakya as the author of collections known to exist under his name, 'it is absurd' to assume that they were really composed by Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya.[1] Such an assumption, other scholars wrote, should be excluded with certainty;[2] Cāṇakya was a name under which miscellaneous collections were passed.[3] They were attributed to Cāṇakya *in majorem gloriam*.[4] Most maxims dealing with polity, practical philosophy, and worldly wisdom were attributed to Cāṇakya—the hero of Indian tradition.[5] But in reality there is no intrinsic reason for believing that the attribution of the various collections to Cāṇakya was due to any authority other than that of the compilers of the various collections.[6] To enhance their own literary accomplishments, many Indian compilers attributed them in the introductory or concluding stanzas to Cāṇakya. J. van Manen made a thorough study of such initial and concluding stanzas and reached the conclusion that there was no

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[1] A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1928, p. 228; CKr, p. 7.

[2] O. Botto, 'Dal Trattato di Scienza politica di Cāṇakya', *Rivista di Filosofia*, Ser. 3, 5, p. 298.

[3] S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, op. cit., pp. 162, 194.

[4] cf. A. Weber in CNW, p. 401.

[5] cf. M. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 135.

[6] cf. J. van Manen, op. cit., p. xiii.

justification whatsoever for such an attribution. He said: [1]

'In the various collections, one, two, three, four, and even five introductory verses are made to say that Cāṇakya is the real author. The words used vary in almost every collection. We find: *Cāṇakyena tu bhāṣitam*, *Cāṇakyena svayaṃ proktam*, *Cāṇakyena yathoditam*, *Cāṇakyena prayujyate*, clearly indicating . . . that the attribution is, in each case, due to the compilers of the saṃgrahas, but not traditionally authentic. The Bombay Vṛddha Cāṇakya has not even any mention of Cāṇakya in its three introductory ślokas, and the only occurrence of the name there is in the title and the chapter colophons. Not only that, but in several collections these introductory ślokas are evidently tautological, and, indeed, of the class which Weber in his collection characterizes as a Schreiberstück, writer's learning. What to think, for instance, of the introduction to the Calcutta Bodhi Cāṇakya, where we find in four initial ślokas the repetition *vakṣye*, *saṃpravakṣyāmi*, *pravakṣyāmi*? It is difficult to admit that an original poet or author would repeat himself in such a manner, but for a collator and syncretist the feat would be quite possible. What is the greatest common factor in all the introductory ślokas is not more than the ardha śloka: *nānā-śāstroddhṛtaṃ vakṣye rājanītisamuccayam*, which is a statement which tallies perfectly with the character of all these Nīti collections, and is also quite compatible with the extraordinary variety of contents of all of them. This half śloka is, indeed, found in some of the introductory ślokas as the first half and in others as the second, and it seems that everything else to be found in the introductions is mere embroidery, but cannot claim authenticity. That the compilers of various collections take great liberty with their introductions and concluding stanzas is clearly proven by the Gujerati and Marathi editions which begin with a specially composed śloka:

vṛddhacāṇakyagranthasya ṭīkāṃ kurve subodhinīm sarvalokopakārāya bhāṣayā māharāṣṭrayā and *bhāṣayā gurjarāṣṭrayā*.

[1] ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

So also Kalee Krishen, who introduces the concluding śloka in his edition: *yasya vijñānamātreṇa*, etc. with the words " the conclusion by the author ". Author, here, can hardly mean Cāṇakya, but only the compiler of the collection.'

It seems that a part of the conclusions reached by J. van Manen, namely that the attribution of the name of Cāṇakya to the various collections known to exist under his name is not authentic, is, though certainly right, not very original. Yet, it is difficult to accept the view that ' the lack of unanimity ' in the attribution of the authorship to Cāṇakya proves the non-authenticity of these collections. Even less can one accept the view that ' it is difficult to admit that an original poet or author would repeat himself in such a manner, but for a collator and syncretist the feat would be quite possible '. It was possible to divide all the texts known to exist under the name of Cāṇakya into six versions.[1] Almost every version has different introductory stanzas which are often the characteristic feature of these different versions. This is the explanation for the differences occurring in the introductory stanzas and the variety of phrases mentioned by J. van Manen (*Cāṇakyena tu bhāṣitam*, *Cāṇakyena svayaṃ proktam*, *Cāṇakyena yathoditam*, *Cāṇakyena prayujyate*). It must also be noted that the closing stanza in Kalee Krishen's edition is a closing stanza characteristic of a great number

[1] *Akten des XXIV Internationlen Orientalisten Kongresses*, München, herausg. von Herbert Franke, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden, 1959, pp. 544-6. Cf. *infra* para 17.

of editions in the CN version, and not just an addition made exclusively by Kalee Krishen.

11. It has been said before that, in order to increase the authority of their collections, the original compilers attributed them to Cāṇakya. The expression ' original compilers ' is important, if we accept the principle of the six versions of Cāṇakya's compendia; in the old times [1] the versions, i.e. compilations of maxims and aphorisms from various sources, were established and became so to say petrified; new compilations followed the six patterns and if the compilers wanted to add new aphorisms they did so usually either at the end of the texts or at the end of the *adhyāya-s*.

12. J. van Manen held that the attribution of the collections to Cāṇakya was one of late origin and that the original *nīti* tradition was older than and independent from Cāṇakya's name and that perhaps the attribution was due to some ' bad ' play of words rooted in the similarity between Cāṇakya and Śaunaka. He came to this conclusion because of ' the existence of various collections of what may be called Cāṇakya Nīti, in various parts of India without the name of Cāṇakya attached, but simply called Nītisāra or Nītiśāstram, the occurrence of a Nītisāra in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* in connection with the name of Śaunaka instead, the occurrence in the Tibetan Tanjur of four Nīti Saṃgrahas, one under the name of Cāṇakya, another under that of Nāgārjuna, and still another under the

[1] It is impossible to state when.

name of Masūrākṣa (and this one containing certain ślokas which are contained in nearly all Cāṇakya collections and nowhere else ascribed to another), and finally one under the name of Vararuci'.[1] In this connection, J. van Manen also pointed to the variations of the name Cāṇakya, namely Cānakya, Cānaka (characteristic of texts from Bengal and Nepal), Cāṇikya and Cāṇika (characteristic of those from Rajputana?), Cāṇākya and Cāṇākhya (characteristic of those from the region of Bombay),[2] Cāṇāyakya, Cāṃṇāyaka and Caulāyaka. To this list such names as Cāṇakyā, Cāṇakyaya, Cāṇāka, Cānakhya, etc. could be added; they are found in various MSS. and editions of the so-called Cāṇakya aphorisms.

It is possible to agree with J. van Manen that the original *nīti* tradition is older than, and independent from, Cāṇakya's name, since we do not know when the various versions known to exist under the name of Cāṇakya became so to say petrified, but it is difficult to agree with him that it could be attributed to Śaunaka. All the arguments mentioned before lead to the conclusion that the so-called Cāṇakya collections were *in majorem gloriam* attributed to the Indian hero —Cāṇakya. E. Monseur rightly said: '*On dit dans l'Inde un Cāṇakya de la même façon qu'on dit en France un "Petit Buffon de l'Enfance" pour un ouvrage élémentaire*

[1] op. cit., pp. xiii-xiv.

[2] Cāṇakhya seems to be characteristic of the Marathi speaking part of India.

d'histoire naturelle.'[1] It may also be added that the collection of Cāṇakya's aphorisms found in the Tibetan Tanjur is a classical text of Cāṇakya's aphorisms belonging to the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti version (CR), namely the CRT text; it was translated into Tibetan by the Indian Pandit Prabhākaraśrīmitra (Prabakasrimitra) and the Tibetan Bhikṣu Rin-chen bzaṅ-po of źhu hen (Ratnabhadra) in the tenth century A.D.[2] and that the Nītisāra of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* is another text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (CR) version.[3]

13. It is impossible to establish the extent to which the various aphorisms and maxims were formulated by an authority on polity or were part of popular poetry. O. Kressler said: '*Ohne Zweifel handelt es sich . . . bei der weitaus überwiegenden Mehrzahl der vorliegenden Strophen um sprachlich wie gedanklich ganz anspruchslose Volkspoesie; die einzelnen, unter einander in keiner inneren Beziehung stehenden Sprüche gingen von Mund zu Mund, ohne von eigentlichen Dichtern herzustammen. Dass dann eine später veranstaltete Sammlung solcher Verse mehr oder weniger Contradictorisches bietet ist nahezu selbstverständlich.*'[4] M. Winternitz did not accept Kressler's theory and wrote:

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[1] cf. CM, p. xv.

[2] cf. L. Sternbach, 'The Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram,' ABORI, 42, pp. 99-122.

[3] cf. L. Sternbach, 'The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa,' ABORI, 38, pp. 58-110; and 'An Unknown Cāṇakya MS. and the Garuḍa-purāṇa,' IIJ, 1. 3, pp. 181-200.

[4] cf. CKr, p. 27.

'*Es ist . . . nicht richtig, in ihnen [Sprüchen] " Volkspoesie " zu sehen und sie mit Sprichwörtern gleichzusetzen, die von Mund zu Mund gehen, ohne dass an einen einzelnen Autor zu denken ist. Diese Sprüche sind vielmehr in litterarischen Kreisen entstanden, sie stammen teils aus Werken der Litteratur, teils rühren sie von Verfassern her, deren Namen vergessen worden sind.*' [1] The analysis of each aphorism shows in any case that it is wrong to say that ' the great majority ' of aphorisms belong to popular poetry, the authorship of which cannot be traced. Some of the aphorisms certainly belong to this category, but form a definite minority.

The Versified Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti

14. Scholars who were dealing with the problem of the composition of the so-called Cāṇakya aphorisms and the origin of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* referred to the following passage found at the end of the contents of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra: śāstra-samuddeśaḥ pañcadaśādhikaraṇāni, sapañcāśad-adhyāya-śatam, sāśīti-prakaraṇa-śatam, ṣaṭ śloka-sahasrāṇīti* [2] (such are the contents of the science: there are on the whole 15 *adhikaraṇa-s* [books], 150 *adhyāya-s* [chapters], 180 *prakaraṇa-s* [sections], 6000 *śloka-s*). They also referred to the following obscure sentence in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita: adhīṣva tāvad daṇḍanītim. iyam idānīm ācārya-viṣṇuguptena mauryārthe ṣaḍbhiḥ śloka-sahasraiḥ saṃkṣiptā* [3] (now *ācārya*

[1] op. cit., p. 136.
[2] K, p. 5.16-7.
[3] In BSS 10, p. 131. 10-2.

Viṣṇugupta, i.e. Cāṇakya, compiled[1] for [Candragupta] Maurya a *daṇḍanīti* [containing] six thousand *śloka-s*).

The latter passage was first referred to by Brockhaus in a communication read in 1846 in the Königliche Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, entitled 'Über die gnomischen Dichter Südindiens'.[2] Later on, it was analysed more carefully by A. Weber in 1864.[3] In 1873 it was referred to by J. Klatt who based the reference of this sentence on Weber's communication;[4] in 1887 by E. Monseur,[5] in 1906-7 by O. Kressler,[6] in 1911 by E. Bartoli,[7] in 1926 by J. van Manen,[8] D. R. Bhandarkar and P. V. Kane,[9] in 1935 by P. L. Bhargava,[10] and later by many others.[11] These two statements, and particularly Daṇḍin's reference to 6000 *śloka-s*, gave rise to long discussions, since Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, though composed of 15 *adhikaraṇa-s*, 150 *adhyāya-s* and 180

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[1] *Saṃkṣipta* means 'compiled' or 'summarized' rather than 'wrote'.

[2] *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, I, Leipzig, 1848, p. 62.

[3] CNW, p. 401.

[4] CKl, p. 14.

[5] CM, p. xii.

[6] CKr, p. 13.

[7] CNF, p. xi.

[8] op. cit., p. xiv.

[9] ABORI, 7, pp. 65 sqq. and 85 sqq.

[10] *Chandragupta Maurya*, Lucknow, 1935, p. 89.

[11] O. Botto, L. Sternbach, F. Wilhelm and many others.

prakaraṇa-s, was not composed of 6000 *śloka-s*, but much less; it is a work written in prose and not in *śloka-s*. Therefore opinions were expressed that 'no reasonable doubt is permissible that there was a time when the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya was wholly composed of verses'.[1] On the other hand opinions were expressed that a *śloka* is composed of thirty-two syllables, thus Kauṭilya mentioned that his work was composed of 187-8 verses, approximately the number of verses found in reality in K. On the contrary, opinions were expressed that 6000 *śloka-s* are equal to 192,000 syllables and therefore the passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* mentioned above was considered as referring to the whole of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in prose.

This author does not intend to reopen the whole learned discussion on this subject; he does wish to emphasize, however, that despite the fact that the various Cāṇakya collections do not have a unitary character and deal in a great part with ethics they do, nevertheless, contain a large number of maxims and aphorisms of *rāja-nīti* character. It seems to this author that it is possible to extract from the numerous collections of Cāṇakya's sayings those maxims which normally would have been included in a versified *rāja-nīti*.

Aim of the Study

15. The aim of this study is to prepare a collection of Cāṇakya's maxims dealing with subjects which, as

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Date of Kauṭalya,' ABORI, 7, p. 78.

stated above, would normally be included in a treatise on *rāja-nīti*. This new collection of maxims attributed to Cāṇakya is not an attempt to prepare an *ur*-text of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in a versified form, but a compilation of Cāṇakya's maxims and aphorisms dealing with *rāja-nīti*, arranged in a logical order according to subject matter. The preparation of such a text seems to be quite important, since these verses were undoubtedly, rightly or wrongly, attributed in texts and tradition to Cāṇakya—Kauṭilya.

After having quoted the introductory stanzas (1-4) which show the *rāja-nīti* character of the various collections of Cāṇakya maxims,[1] those maxims which could be grouped into one of the following chapters are included: king's duties and qualities; king's friends and enemies; war, peace, alliances and stratagem to be used by the king; king's officials; and king's subjects. Other maxims of a *rāja-nīti* character which could not be included in one of these chapters are grouped at the end in the chapter called ' Varia '.

In the first sub-division the main duties and qualities of the king (5-18) (they are familiar to the leading Dharma- and Artha-śāstra-s), maxims dealing with the duty of the king to rule in accordance with *dharma*, to protect the subjects, and the main virtues of the king are quoted.

[1] Introductory stanzas of a more general character have been omitted.

In the sub-division 'good and bad king' (19-25), maxims dealing in general terms with a good and a bad king are included.

The following five sub-divisions cite maxims dealing with particular duties of the king, namely governing the kingdom with justice (26-33), protection of the king's subjects (34-42), collection of the treasure in a legal manner (43-74), respect for knowledge and learning (75-80),[1] and other less important duties of the king (81-98).

In the next two sub-divisions maxims dealing with governing the kingdom (99-106), in particular by *daṇḍa* and the reasons for non-inhabitation of, or for leaving, a kingdom which is devoid of essential living conditions (107-16) are included.

In the next chapter, the first sub-division, maxims dealing in general with the characteristics of friends and enemies, and advice not to trust even the smallest and the seemingly unimportant enemy (117-28) [2] are incorporated.

Maxims dealing with the use of ruse and stratagem by the king (129-54) are placed in the second sub-division of this chapter; these maxims are typical of the so-called Kauṭilyanism, or Machiavellism; many of these maxims are of a general character, but are

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[1] This sub-division could be enlarged, since many maxims connected with this subject exist.

[2] This division could also be enlarged; many maxims deal with friends in particular.

considered as particularly useful for kings in order to govern their kingdom properly and for the benefit of their subjects. (It is worthwhile to compare these maxims with the highly ethical ones found in the chapter on king's duties, in particular the sub-division 'main duties and qualities of the king'.)

The last sub-division of this chapter cites stanzas dealing with various subject matters (155-65), in particular the army, the fortress and the conduct of war.

The next chapter entitled 'King's Officials' is very characteristic of the Artha- and Nīti-śāstra-s and is similar to the contents on the subject of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra*, etc.

The first two sub-divisions deal in general with service in the king's court from the point of view of the king's officials (166-81) and of the king (182-95).[1]

The next sub-division contains maxims, or more properly said Arthaśāstra-rules, about king's officials, their testing, their qualities (196-215) and their discharge (216-18).

The last sub-division in this chapter quotes maxims, or better to say Arthaśāstra-rules, dealing with the highest officials and ministers of the king; their qualifications and duties; this part (219-36) could be rightly considered as an Arthaśāstra treatise on the king's

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[1] Some of them are of a general nature such as the relationship between the master and the servant. Several maxims could be added to these sub-divisions; only the most representative have been included.

highest officials. It gives a description of the duties and qualities of the Superintendent of Justice (*dharmādhyakṣa*), the Treasurer (*bhāṇḍādhyakṣa*), the Superintendent of Mines (*gañjādhyakṣa*), the Commander-in-Chief (*senādhyakṣa*), the Superintendent of Horses (*aśvādhyakṣa*), the Royal Doorkeeper (*pratīhāra*), the Royal Counsellor (*mantrin*), the Royal Secretary (*lekhaka*), the Royal Physician (*vaidya*), the Royal Priest (*purohita*), the Royal Teacher (*ācārya*), the Royal Astrologer (*kālajña*), the Custodian of the King's Inner Apartments (*rājāntaḥpura-rakṣaka*), the Royal Cook (*sūpakāra*), and the Royal Ambassador (*dūta*). It may be remarked in this connection that Cāṇakya's maxims are not very familiar with the technical terms for the highest officials of the king used in the Artha-śāstra-s; and so, the *dharmādhyakṣa* is in some texts also referred to as *senādhyakṣa*, *rājādhyakṣa* or *kośādhyakṣa*; the *bhāṇḍādhyakṣa* is called in some texts also *kośādhyakṣa*, *senādhyakṣa* or even *dharmādhyakṣa*; the *gañjādhyakṣa* is also named in some texts *gajādhyakṣa*; and the *senādhyakṣa* is in some texts referred to as *aśvādhyakṣa*, while the *aśvādhyakṣa* is called in some texts *senādhyakṣa* or even *dharmādhyakṣa*.

The next short chapter entitled 'King's Subjects' (237-44) contains maxims dealing in general with the behaviour of the king's subjects towards the king and vice versa. Particularly interesting are the maxims saying that the subjects are powerless against the king since they cannot resort to redress, even if he misbehaves (240-1).

The last chapter entitled 'Varia' (245-76) gives maxims which could not be properly included in any of the five chapters described above though dealing with *rāja-nīti*, such as the king as the ornament of the earth, advice not to trust him or his family, etc.

In order to illustrate better the subject matter dealt with in the text a short résumé in English of each maxim or a group of maxims is given below. In a few cases where it was felt that the maxim had a peculiar bearing on *rāja-nīti* in a versified Arthaśāstra, a full translation has been given.

I. 1-4. Introductory Stanzas

II. King's Duties and Qualities

Main Duties and Qualities of the King

5. The king should curb his senses and dedicate himself to the service of *dharma* and the well-being of his subjects.

6. The king should rule by *dharma*, and protect his subjects.

7. The king should protect religion; where the syllable *om* is spread, the king's power is enlarged.

8. The king should act as protector, refuge for the destitute and should set right the addicted, protect the frightened, be a friend to all, benefactor, teacher, father, mother, brother, etc.

9. To punish the wicked; to reward the good; to increase the treasure by proper means; impartiality;

and taking care of the government are the five sacred duties of the king.

10. Distribution of wealth to the deserving; appreciation of merits; enjoyment of life with his family and dependents; knowledge of Śāstra-s; and prowess in warfare are the five characteristics of the king.

11-8. Virtues of the king to be learnt from the lion, the crane, the cock, the crow, the dog, and the donkey.

Good and Bad King

19. A good king is like a gardener who replants the uprooted trees; strengthens the weak ones; bends down those which shoot too high; weakens the too strong ones; divides the united; and trims the thorny ones.

20. A king who follows the right path is happy.

21. A king should know the qualities which lead to prosperity.

22. A thriftless spender, a helpless (king), a quarrelsome (king), and a sick (king) perish.

23. The king should govern his country well; it is better to be without a king than to have a bad one.

24. There is no happiness in a kingdom ruled by a bad king.

25. Kings are like serpents; but they can be managed by good counsel.

Governing in accordance with Dharma

26. There is no safety in a misruled kingdom.

27. The king is the source of *dharma*.

28. The king should rule in accordance with his own *dharma*; otherwise he perishes.

29. The kingdom is the fruit of *dharma*.

30. The king should always protect the welfare of his kingdom and, after having vanquished his enemy's army, should govern with justice.

31. The king should be just: an unjust and groundless chastisement of his servant often leads to retaliation.

32. There is no wonder that a king versed in *daṇḍanīti* is just.

33. A just king is firm.

Protection of His Subjects

34. The kingdom is protected by the king.

35-6. The duty of the king is to protect his subjects.

37. Pure is the king who protects his subjects.

38-40. The king is the refuge for the weak and the poor; protector of the aged, children, ascetics; and redresser of the wronged.

41. The wife of the king is like one's own mother.

42. Subjects leave the king who cannot protect them.

Collection of the King's Treasury

43. The king should collect the treasure according to *dharma* (and protect the Brāhmaṇa-s).

44. The treasury should be kept full; even ascetics store (for a needy day).

45-7. Wealth is of short duration.

48. Wealth is the friend of the king in the negotiation of peace, in war, for bribery, etc.

49-64. One who has wealth has everything, while those deprived of it are lost.

65. The king should collect the treasure like a gardener plucking flowers without uprooting the plants.

66-8. The king should collect the treasure like a milkman without injuring the cow's udder or exhausting the cow, or injuring her offspring.

69. The king should collect the treasure like a bee which does not injure the flower.

70. Like an ant-hill, honeycomb, and moon in the bright fortnight, the king's treasury becomes bigger and bigger, little by little.

71-2. The king desires wealth (treasure).

73. The king is doomed if he touches the Brāhmaṇa's wealth.

74. The king should spend money from the treasury on needy persons.

Respect for Knowledge and Learning

75-6. The king should respect learning and knowledge.

77-8. The king is honoured in his own kingdom, but the learned man is honoured everywhere.

79. Better a blind king than one deprived of knowledge.

80. A thought of a wise man can destroy the kingdom.

Other Duties

81. The king should protect in accordance with Arthaśāstra.

82-4. The king should preserve self-control and should remain unaffected in prosperity and adversity.

85-7. The king should be gentle, truthful and well-disposed towards his servants, subjects and Brāhmaṇa-s and not be fickle in his dealings.

88-90. The king should have contacts only with good and not with bad men.

91. The king should distinguish friend from foe; an indifferent person from a neutral; an old man from a teacher.

92. The king should move about in his kingdom; only then will he be esteemed.

93. The king should not be stingy.

94. The king should not devote himself to amusement and pleasure.

95. The king should not be addicted to dice, hunting, women, drink, aimless wandering, or sleep.

96. The king should not change the established law by argument.

97. The king who is pleasure-seeking, proud of his wealth and subordinates could easily be conquered by his enemies.

98. The king should not be contented.

Governing the Kingdom

99. The king rules by punishment (*daṇḍa*).

100. By the threat of punishment the whole world is kept in check; through fear of punishment the universe enjoys blessings.

101. The kingdom in the grip of anarchy (without a king) should be pitied.

102. Blessed are those who do not see the downfall of their own kingdom.

103-4. The kingdom can be regained; but not one's body.

105. A sacrifice without giving food destroys the kingdom.

106. If there are no villages, boundaries do not exist.

Essential Living Conditions in a Kingdom

107. A kingdom should not be inhabited where there is not a wealthy man, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Veda-s, a king, a river, and a physician;

108. where means of earning one's livelihood, security, sense of shame, proper behaviour, and charity are not found;

109. where respect, means of earning one's livelihood, relatives, and opportunity for gaining knowledge do not exist;

110-1. and where there is no leader, where the leadership is vested in more than one responsible person, or which is governed by a woman or a child.

112. One should live where respect exists.

113-6. A bad country should be abandoned.

III. King's Friends, Enemies, War, Peace, Alliances, Stratagem

Friends and Enemies

117. A friend is one who stands by in times of illness, in adversity, in case of famine, in war, at a king's door, and at the burial place.

118. Friends who speak sweetly in one's presence and slander behind one's back should be avoided.

119. Alliance with friends leads to prosperity for the king.

120. Good qualities, even of an enemy, should be recognized.

121. One who trusts an enemy is doomed.

122. Confidence should never be placed in an enemy even after reconciliation.

123-4. A man who does not trust us should not be trusted; even a man who trusts us should not be trusted too much.

125. An enemy should be overcome completely, because like a fire he can become strong again.

126-7. An enemy, however weak he may be, should not be disregarded: he may prove dangerous like a spark of fire destroying a forest or a stack of hay.

128. Even offsprings of an enemy should not be spared: they could prove to be dangerous.

Use of Stratagem

129. The king should use ruse: what cannot be gained by force can be gained by ruse.

130. One should not always be too straightforward: in a forest straight trees are cut down, while the crooked ones are left standing.

131-3. The king should use only sweet speech: in this way he will secure friends.

134-6. The king should overcome the enemy by every means in his power: whether it be by peace or concession; or by sowing dissension; or by invasion; or by show of strength. The help of another enemy who is under obligation to the king should also be used for this purpose.

137. An enemy, gentle or violent, should be overcome by gentle means.

138-9. An enemy can be overcome by unity.

140. The king threatened with the possibility of losing wealth or life, should bend low before an enemy in order to save his own life.

141. According to time and circumstances a king should make alliance with an enemy or wage war with friends.

142. One should carry an enemy on one's own shoulders as long as the time is adverse, but break him at the right time.

143-4. The enemy should not know the weaknesses of the king, but the king should know the weaknesses of his enemy.

145. Weak points of an enemy should be investigated, while one's own weak points should be concealed.

146. The king should conclude peace for six months or for one year and after having recouped his losses should destroy the enemy.

147-9. In case of distress the king should conclude alliances with anybody.

150. One should not conclude an alliance for position or wealth.

151. The king should win over a covetous man by means of money; a proud man by folded palms; a fool by humouring him; a wise man by truthfulness.

152. The king should win over a great man by subservience; a valiant man by using his own friends; a vulgar one by giving small gifts; a person of the same status by courage.

153. Rules that are ruthless, a teacher without knowledge, a wife with a temper, and relatives who have no affection should be abandoned.

154. One should forsake an individual for the sake of the family; the family for the village; the village for the country; the whole world for the *ātman*.

Varia

155-6. The king's strength is in the army.

157-9. The army and the king are ruined if there is no commander-in-chief.

160. The king should avoid the crossing (with the army) of a great river; enmity with a great man; and strife with many people.

161. The king should supply the fortress well.

162. One should be courageous before an enemy.

163. Safe are those who run away from a foreign invasion.

164. Soldiers are praised after their return from battle.

165. Kṣatriya-s who are afraid in battle will never go to heaven.

IV. King's Officials

Service in the King's Court from the Point of View of the Officials

166. One should not pass between the master and his servant.

167. One who seeks honour should serve the king.

168. To serve the king is honourable.

169. An unimportant person becomes important if he serves the king.

170-2. Serving the king is not very profitable, though king's officials are honoured with gifts and rewards.

173. The king's officials should always be cheerful, sweet of speech, but firm in decision.

174. The king's officials should be bold in the discharge of public duties.

175-7. Service under a wicked king is a constant worry.

178. A Brāhmaṇa is ruined by serving a king.

179. Old servants should be esteemed.

180. One should avoid masters who are cruel; and more so miserly masters; even more so indiscriminating masters; and most of all thankless masters.

181. Officials (ministers) abandon a fallen king. No confidence can be placed in royalty. (cf. 267)

Service in the King's Court from the Point of View of the King

182. The ornaments of the king are his officials.

183. The king needs officials (assistants): no undertaking without an official succeeds.

184-7. Without his officials (ministers) a king perishes.

188-9. Whatever is done by the officials affects the king, good or bad.

190. The king is ruined by bad counsel.

191-3. A bad official (minister) brings ruin to the king.

194. Life is miserable for the king who has an official contradicting him.

195. Kings guided by cunning ministers will not be served by wise men.

Choice of King's Officials

196-7. There are three kinds of king's officials: excellent, bad, and mediocre; they are to be assigned duties suited to their capacities.

198. It is difficult to find officials who are not lazy; who are fully contented; who are vigilant; who are alike in times of joy and grief; and who are courageous.

199-200. The king's officials are tested like gold.

201. The value of officials is to be known when they are discharging their duties.

202. Between a villain and a snake, the latter is preferable; the snake bites from time to time, while a villain is always dangerous.

203. The king should choose men of high descent: they will never be disloyal to him.

204. At the time of deluge the oceans are said to exceed their limits, but good people will never do so.

205. A single wise man is preferred to a thousand fools.

206. The king should employ a man of good qualities, and avoid one who is without them; in a wise man one finds all good qualities, while in a fool faults only.

207. The king's officials should be dignified, polite in speech, self-restrained, truthful, and endowed with clear vision and insight.

208. If the king employs a wise man, he brings honour, wealth, and heaven.

209. If the king employs a fool, he brings dishonour, loss of wealth, and hell.

210. Therefore, the king should employ persons of good qualities in order to promote *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

211. The king should avoid employing persons who are fraudulent, dishonest, cruel, without zeal, incompetent, and cowardly.

212. The king should avoid employing persons without patience and devotion; who are adversaries; who are greedy; who are weak; and who are extremely cowardly.

213. One who is cruel, who has bad inclinations, who is greedy, timid, and too candid, who is not engaged in collecting money, yet spends lavishly, is unfit to be employed.

214. One should not keep company with a fool: he is like a beast with two feet. Like a thorn he pierces the heart imperceptibly with sharp words.

215. A large number of fools who live like cattle hide the good qualities of others, just as the cloud hides the sun.

Discharge of King's Officials

216. The king who does not destroy his official who is equal to him in wealth, ability, statesmanship, and industry, and has taken away half of his kingdom, will be destroyed by him.

217. A bad minister should be expelled completely just as a bad tooth is extracted with the root.

218. The king should expel a sluggish, talkative, stupid, cruel, addicted, perfidious, discontented, or disloyal official.

Ministers and High Officials

219. *Dharmādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Justice) should be of high family, noble conduct, great wisdom, of keen insight in the dispensation of justice, and endowed with all virtues.

220. *Bhāṇḍādhyakṣa* (The Treasurer) should be concerned with the increase of the treasure, should

know the value of gems, should be faithful in his conduct, and energetic.

221. *Gañjādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Mines) should be experienced, devoted to the king, truthful, self-controlled, not greedy, and contented with his own wealth.

222. *Senādhyakṣa* (Commander-in-Chief) should be well versed in military science, be indefatigable, and have courage and valour.

223. *Aśvādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Horses) should know the science of horses, be unsurpassed in horsemanship, and possess exceptional courage and strength.

224. *Pratīhāra* (Royal Door-keeper) should be able to understand hints, be strong in body, good-looking, vigilant, and skilful.

225. *Mantrin* (Royal Counsellor) should be quick in action, should have a good memory, be thankful, should be versed in the Nītiśāstra, intelligent, and should have a keen foresight.

226-7. *Lekhaka* (Royal Secretary) should have quick grasping-power, should be wise, truthful, master of his own senses, should write quickly and in a clear hand, and should have studied all the arts and sciences.

228. *Vaidya* (Royal Physician) should be well versed in the Āyurveda, be of amiable appearance, and should possess a noble character and good qualities.

229. *Purohita* (Royal Priest) should be well versed in the Veda-s and Vedāṅga-s, ever offering prayers and sacrifices to God, and always ready to bless.

230. *Ācārya* (Royal Teacher) should be well versed in religious and secular teaching, should speak amiably, should be master of his own senses, capable of teaching well, and should be morally pure.

231-2. *Kālajña* (Royal Astrologer) should know the art of writing and reading, arithmetic, teaching, and employing the formulae relating to stars. A Brāhmaṇa who knows the same arts is honoured like a god.

233. *Antaḥpura-rakṣaka* (Custodian of King's Inner Apartments) should be lame, hunch-backed, dull-witted, old, incapable (of having sexual intercourse), of subdued passions, and free from desires.

234. *Sūpakāra* (Royal Cook) should have good qualities inherited from father and grandfather, should know the *śāstra* and methods of preparing tasty food, and be truthful and clean.

235-6. *Dūta* (Royal Ambassador) should be intelligent, eloquent, clever, courageous, capable of reading the thoughts of others and conveying messages correctly.

V. King's Subjects

237. The subjects of the king should obey his orders; disobeying his words is like killing him.

238. The king speaks only once.

239. The king should not be like his subjects; but the subjects should be like a good king.

240-1. Subjects are powerless against a king, since they cannot resort to redress.

242. Subjects are guided by the king: if he is virtuous, then his subjects are virtuous; if he is wicked, then his subjects are wicked; if he is mediocre, then his subjects are mediocre; as the king, so his subjects.

243. The king is responsible for the harm befalling his subjects and the *purohita* for the harm befalling the king.

244. Where the king is like a lion; where the king's ministers are like tigers; where the king's officials are like vultures; the king's subjects are ruined.

VI. Varia

245. The king is the ornament of the earth.

246. Even though a child, the king should not be despised, as if he were a mere mortal; for he is a great divinity in human form.

247-8. Kings desire their kingdoms for one reason only: that their commands are never frustrated.

249. Authority is the only aim of the king.

250. The king should not be a descendant of a low family.

251-2. The king looks at the world through the eyes of *nīti*; he sees the world through the eyes of his spies.

253. The king's luck is not limitless: God has not imparted everything to one person.

254. God can make a beggar out of a king and a king out of a beggar.

255-6. The king is never to be disturbed (while sleeping); the treasurer and the door-keeper should ever be vigilant.

257. Hatred towards the king brings disaster.

258. Kings live in towns; low-class people in villages; Piśāca-s between the villages; and Rākṣasa-s on burial grounds (in the centre of the village).

259. Polite manners can be learnt from princes.

260. Kings have no feelings for others.

261-5. Kings are not the friends of anyone; there should be no friendship with kings.

266. No one should believe the king.

267-71. Kings and kings' families should not be trusted; dealings with kings should be cautious; kings may be destructive.

272. Too close a relationship with kings is dangerous; too distant a relationship is not profitable; a middle path should be followed.

273. Favours from kings are desired for the sake of assisting friends and destroying enemies.

274. Favours of kings are like a shadow; they are obtained with difficulty.

275-6. Kings should not be approached empty-handed; if they are left empty-handed the object will never be fulfilled.

Texts Used

16. It is an established fact that there is a great amount and variety of Cāṇakya MSS. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, which has become obsolete by now, alone mentioned some fifty MSS. Since then many other MSS., particularly in India, have been discovered.

The number of editions of Cāṇakya's aphorisms and maxims is immense. No one knows how many of them have been issued,[1] the more so as many served in India for popular, rather than scholarly purposes, many were used as textbooks for teaching Sanskrit, and many were selections from well-known Cāṇakya versions, abridged editions of Cāṇakya versions, arbitrarily modified by editors and often so changed that their model could not be recognized any more. The editors of some Cāṇakya editions considered their work as compilations of Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s based on Cāṇakya aphorisms and maxims; this means that the basis was one or another edition of so-called Cāṇakya aphorisms and maxims which was arbitrarily expurgated and to which the editor had added a number of well-known aphorisms and maxims from other sources or well-known sayings transmitted orally, which he liked or thought that his readers would like. These particular editions are from the critical standpoint worthless.[2] They mostly appeared in Bengal, in Bengali characters and were based on an *aṣṭottaraśata* collection of Cāṇakya's aphorisms (CN version).

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[1] cf. *The Delhi Public Library: An Evaluation Report* by Frank M. Gardner, UNESCO Public Library Manuals 8, Paris, UNESCO, 1957. It is said there that book selection in the vernaculars is difficult for the staff of the Delhi Public Library because of the disorganized book trade, the lack of standard lists of publishers' output and the lack of adequate reviews.

[2] E. Bartoli called them *deminutio capitis* of the celebrated Cāṇakya (CNF, p. ii).

The Catalogue of the India Office in London [1] which lists Cāṇakya editions published until 1929 registered ninety-eight editions of Cāṇakya texts. This Catalogue is far from complete. And how many editions appeared after 1929? It is clear, therefore, that it is completely impossible to study and analyse all the Cāṇakya editions.[2]

17. This author has collected and studied one hundred and fifty-nine Cāṇakya editions and analysed ninety-four of them; in addition he has studied seventy-four MSS. and analysed forty-eight of them; of these MSS. over forty have never been studied or described before.

On the basis of the analysis of this vast amount of raw material, the author in 1956 divided all the texts of collections of Cāṇakya maxims into six versions,[3] namely the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (CV), the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cv), the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (CR), the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra (CN), the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha (CS) and the Laghu Cāṇakya (CL).[4]

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[1] vol. II, pt. II, rev. ed., Sanskrit Books by Prana Natha and Jitendra Bimala Chaudhuri, Section I, London, 1938.

[2] I spent several days in the India Office Library in London but many of the editions mentioned in the Catalogue, unfortunately, could not be found.

[3] *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses*, München, pp. 544-6. The basis of the division into six versions is also given there.

[4] The reconstructed texts of these six versions are being published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute under

18. All the texts available to the author contain two thousand four hundred and thirty-eight different maxims. Not all of them have been incorporated in the six versions mentioned above. Far from it! Only maxims which appeared in at least three texts of the same version and were clearly not interpolations were included in one or other of these six versions.

In this study, however, all the 2438 different maxims and aphorisms were analysed and those having a *rāja-nīti* background have been included. Not all of them are *rāja-nīti* stanzas; the Cāṇakya maxims are mostly ethical and moral and include *kāvya* aphorisms dealing at the same time with several 'similar' problems; sometimes one part, often very small, deals with *rāja-nīti*; sometimes a moral stanza is of a general character and does not refer exclusively to kings; however, where it was felt that such a maxim or maxims, though in a small way, may contribute to the understanding of *rāja-nīti*, they have been included in this study. On the other hand stanzas though found in one or more collections of Cāṇakya aphorisms, but which were considered as interpolations have not been included.

The texts used for the preparation of this study are referred to in the 'Abbreviations'. The full

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the editorship of Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri and the first part containing the CV and Cv versions will appear shortly. For details see Abbreviations under Cr.

description of each text is found in the reconstructed text of the six versions mentioned above.[1]

Presentation of the Text

19. Directly below the heading in English, the Sanskrit text of the Cāṇakya maxims has been given. A résumé in English of each maxim (or group of maxims dealing with the same subject matter) is given in paragraph 15 above. If the maxim appeared in more than one version of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, the reconstructed text which seemed to be the best has been chosen.[2]

In the first paragraph of the footnotes which follow each maxim the sources have been quoted; first the number of the reconstructed maxim of the appropriate version, as being published in the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute; secondly other Cāṇakya sources have been mentioned; the first two letters, CV, Cv, CR, CS, CN, CL (they are followed by another letter or letters) characterize the version. The letters Cn refer to texts which are connected with the CN version but have an appearance of notebooks of students of Sanskrit written probably by children or adolescents and do not merit any special attention. If any maxim

[1] See n. 4 on p. 42 above.

[2] Sometimes maxims which, in reality, have two distinct readings of the same maxim are quoted separately; this occurs, however, only exceptionally and exclusively in cases when at least two *pāda-s* are different, e.g. Nos. 184-7, 235-6 in the text below.

included in this study does not appear in the reconstructed text of the six versions, the text in which it is found has been referred to. In the second paragraph of the footnotes other sources, such as the epics, Purāṇa-s, *kathā* or *kāvya* literature, as well as the main Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s in which the respective maxim could be traced have also been given. Obviously, this enumeration of other sources is not exhaustive. This is followed by variants of the maxim. In some cases, after these variants some special remarks as to the authenticity of the respective maxim or the metre (only metres other than *anuṣṭubh śloka*) have been mentioned.

Analysis of the Text

20. The analysis of the maxims used in this text shows that two hundred and seventy-six stanzas of various collections of Cāṇakya maxims have a *rāja-nīti* background, most of which are found in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (CR), namely one hundred and thirty-two; [1] thirty-four of them are not found in the reconstructed text of the CR version but only in some texts of this version. Almost the whole of the fourth and fifth *adhyāya-s* of the CR version deal with matters connected with *rāja-nīti*, while not a single stanza of the sixth *adhyāya* of CR is connected with *rāja-nīti*.

The second most important version which deals with *rāja-nīti* is the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha (CS)

[1] This figure contains fourteen maxims found only in some MSS. of the CR version.

version with ninety-six stanzas,[1] or almost one-third of the whole version.[2] Nearly all stanzas of the first *śataka* between 52 and 76, in the second *śataka* between 1 and 32, and in the third *śataka* between 49 and 69 deal with *rāja-nīti*.

The Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (CV) and the Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cv) contain seventy-one and fifty-five maxims respectively dealing with *rāja-nīti*;[3] they are found in the first *adhyāya* of the CV and Cv versions, in the fourth and fifth *adhyāya-s* of the Cv version and the sixth *adhyāya* of the CV version. Since both these versions are interrelated only one table for both these versions has been prepared.[4]

In the reconstructed Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (CN), we find forty-two maxims dealing with *rāja-nīti*; this number is relatively high, since this version is an *aṣṭottaraśata* (i.e. contains 108 stanzas). In addition eighty-four maxims of *rājanīti* character are found in some texts which belong mostly to the longer texts of the CN version. These texts are not representative of ' genuine ' Cāṇakya aphorisms.[5]

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[1] This figure contains one maxim found only in one MS. of the CS version.

[2] This version is composed of three *śataka-s*.

[3] These figures contain one and ten maxims respectively found in some MSS. only of the CV and Cv versions; two and three maxims respectively are not found in the reconstructed texts of the CV and Cv versions.

[4] See Analytical Table below.

[5] cf. Introduction to CN.

The Laghu Cāṇakya version (CL) contains only a small number of maxims dealing with *rāja-nīti*, namely fifteen.

21. The following table gives a better picture for the analysis of the maxims and aphorisms included in this study. The figures in italics denote that the maxim included in this study is found only in some texts of the appropriate version; × denotes that the maxim is found only in some texts but not in the reconstructed text of that version; Crn denotes the number of maxims found in the second part of the present study. Whenever there is no space available in the table for denoting the various individual texts in which the maxim is found, it is enumerated in the footnotes to the table.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF MAXIMS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
1.10	**3.1**		**8.2**	×	"E"	141
CRP 1.34[1]						36
2.3		**3.10**	**1.7**	**29**		54
2.15				×		181
2.16		**6.11**	**6.1**	**31**		151
2.18	**2.6**		**7.7**			152
2.21	**3.48**	**1.15**	**1.16**	**25**		267
2.24		**16.4**				261
2.26		**1.8**	**1.9**	**35**		109
2.27		**1.12**	**1.13**	**15**		117
CRC 2.36[2]				×		75
2.40	**1.72**	**1.11**	**1.12**	**19**		201
2.50						72
CRT 3.6						263
3.9	**1.31**	**3.3**	×	×		136

[1] CRP 1.34, CRBh I 1.34, CRBh II 1.36.
[2] CRC 2.36, CRB 2.31, CRBh II 2.31.

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
3.16	**2.9**			**20**		135
3.22	**3.56**	**1.10**	**1.11**	×		108
"B"		**1.9**	**1.10**	**34**		107
3.40						128
4.1						4
4.2						6
4.3	**2.17**					65
4.4						66
4.5						67
4.6						69
4.7						5
4.8						43
4.9						7
4.10						44
CRT 4.10						31
CRC 4.10						48
4.12		**7.15**	**6.8**	×		49
CRBh II 4.12						50

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
CRT 4.12						85
4.13			**6.10**			60
CRT 4.13						97
CRC 4.13						51
CRC 4.15						52
CRC 4.16						53
CRC 4.17						54
CRC 4.18						55
CRC 4.20						56
CRC 4.22						57
CRC 4.23						63
CRC 4.24						58
CRC 4.25						59
4.14		**15.5**	**6.9**			61

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
CRT 4.14						36
4.15		**7.13**	**6.6**	×		62
CRT 4.15						94
4.16						247
" E "						248
4.17						82
4.18						83
4.19						96
4.20						95
" F "						90
4.21						79
4.22						81
" G "						45
" H "			×	×		46
" I "						47
CRC 4.29						64
4.30						8
4.31						19

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
CRC 4.34[1]						145
CRC 4.53[2]				×		80
CRC 4.56[3]						239
5.1						197
5.2		**5.2**	**4.6**	×		199
5.3	**1.54**			**100**		219
5.4	**1.56**					220
5.5	**1.60**			**106**		224
5.6			**4.12**			227
5.8						236
CRC 5.8				×		160
5.9						221
5.10	**1.58**		**4.10**	**105**		234
5.11	**1.57**		**4.11**	**101**		228
5.12						230
5.13	**1.52**		**4.8**	**99**		229

[1] CRC 4.34, CRB 4.24.
[2] CRC 4.53, CRB 4.43, CRBh II 4.37.
[3] CRC 4.56, CRB 4.46.

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
5.14						231
5.15						225
CRC 5.15						232
5.16						233
5.17	**1.74**		**4.15**	×		218
5.18	**1.55**					213
CRT 5.20						212
5.21				×		216
5.22						207
5.23						198
5.24						211
5.25						161
5.26						146
5.27						173
5.28	**2.10**			×		142
5.29	**1.67**			**83**		208
5.30	**1.68**			**84**		209
5.31						188
5.32						183

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
5.33						206
5.34						88
5.35						89
5.36						149
5.37						68
5.38			**6.13**	×		70
" S "	**3.94**	**14.12**	**5.18**	×		271
7.9		**14.11**		×		272
7.12			×			32
CRT 7.25				×		266
7.28	**3.46**	**2.6**	**2.6**	**18**		123
7.42	**3.47**			×		124
7.43						122
7.44	**1.8**					121
7.46		**7.12**	**6.5**	×		130
7.69			×			119
CRC 7.85[1]						139
CRT 8.1				×		115

[1] CRC 7.85, CRB 7.80, CRBh II 7.37.

CR	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
8.3				×		102
8.7						190
8.16		**2.14**	×	×		175
CRT 8.18			×			273
8.38	**1.81**			**60**		40
8.44						126
8.45						125
8.49	**3.61**	**2.5**	**2.5**	**16**		118
8.63						110
8.71						217
CRB 8.73[1]			×			192
8.130	×	**8.18**		**78**	**4.3**	98
CRC 8.130						74
CRC 8.163				×		165

[1] CRB 8.73, CRP 8.70, CRBh I 8.71, CRBh II 8.59.

CS	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
1.1		**1.1**				1
1.3		**1.3**				2
1.7						269
1.8	**7.44**					121
1.16				×		193
1.20	×	**4.20**	**4.4**			41
1.25				×		76
1.31	**3.9**	**3.3**	×	×		136
1.46				**1**	**6.9**	78
1.52	**5.13**		**4.8**	**99**		229
1.53						84
1.54	**5.3**			**100**		219
1.55	**5.18**					213
1.56	**5.4**			×		220
1.57	**5.11**		**4.11**	**101**		228
1.58	**5.10**		**4.10**	**105**		234
1.59				**102**		226
1.60	**5.5**			**106**		224
1.61						222
1.62			**4.3**	**103**		223

CS	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
1.63				**104**		235
1.64			**4.7**	×		21
1.65		**3.5**	**2.9**			203
1.66			**8.12**	**2**		205
1.67	**5.29**			**83**		208
1.68	**5.30**			**84**		209
1.69				×		210
1.70				×		189
1.71						200
1.72	**2.40**	**1.12**	**1.11**	**19**		201
1.73				×		196
1.74	**5.17**		**4.15**	×		218
1.75			**4.14**			180
1.76						194
1.81	**8.38**			**60**		40
1.82				×		38
1.91						172
1.92					**2.5**	27
2.1						251
2.2	×	**13.7**		×	**2.7**	242

CS	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
2.4						134
2.5	×	×				10
2.6	**2.18**		**7.7**			152
2.7						143
2.8		**2.7**	**2.7**	**36**		144
2.9	**3.16**			**20**		135
2.10	**5.28**			×		142
2.11				×		132
2.12	×					131
2.13				**"R"**		133
2.16						30
2.17	**4.3**					65
218				×		91
2.19						22
2.21		**6.14**	**5.3**	**64**		11
2.22		**6.15**	**5.4**	**65**		12
2.23		**6.16**	**5.5**	**66**		13
2.24		**6.17**	**5.6**	**70**		14
2.25		**6.18**	**5.7**	**69**		15
2.26		**6.19**	**5.8**	**67**		16

CS	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Cvn
2.27		**6.20**	**5.9**	**68**		17
2.28						18
2.31						147
2.32						148
2.49				**85**		215
2.70						191
2.74				**74**		34
2.77						177
2.79						164
2.97						120
3.1	**1.10**		**8.2**	×		141
3.7		**3.6**	**3.10**			204
3.15				×	"F"	71
3.20						174
3.26						167
3.31	×	**3.7**	**2.12**	×		214
3.37						127
3.40	×					137
3.46	**7.28**	**2.6**	**2.6**	**18**		123
3.47	**7.42**			×		124

CS	CR	CV	Cv	CN	CL	Crn
3.48	**2.21**	**1.15**	**1.16**	**25**		267
3.49						187
3.52						195
3.53	×			×		26
3.55		**8.5**	**5.15**			166
3.56	**3.22**	**1.10**	**1.11**	×		108
3.61	**8.49**	**2.5**	**2.5**	**16**		118
3.62				**37**		113
3.66						268
3.68				×		240
3.69						241
3.77				**6**		245
3.80		**8.17**		×	**4.1**	37
3.89						99
3.94	**"S"**	**14.12**	**5.19**	×		271

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
1.1	1.1		**1.1**	×		1
1.3	1.3		**1.3**	×		2
[1]	1.7	**2.3**		**29**		154
1.8	1.9	**2.26**		**35**		109
1.9	1.10	**"B"**		**34**		107
1.10	1.11	**3.22**	**3.56**	×		108
1.11	1.12	**2.40**	**1.72**	**19**		201
1.12	1.13	**2.27**		**15**		117
1.15	1.16	**2.21**	**3.48**	**25**		267
2.5	2.5	**8.49**	**3.61**	**16**		118
2.6	2.6	**7.28**	**3.46**	**18**		123
2.7	2.7		**2.8**	**36**		144
2.14	×	**8.16**		×		175
2.15						184
2.16						155
2.17						42
2.20						168
3.3	×	**3.9**	**1.31**	×		136
3.4	×					202

[1] cf. below CV 3.10.

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
3.5	2.9		**1.65**			203
3.6	2.10		**3.7**			204
3.7	2.12	×	**3.31**	×		214
3.10	[1]	[1]		[1]		154
3.19	×					163
4.8						176
4.11				×		238
4.16				×		153
4.20	4.4	×	**1.20**			41
5.2	4.6	**5.2**		×		199
	4.7		**1.64**	×		21
	4.8	**5.13**	**1.52**	**99**		229
	4.10	**5.10**	**1.58**	**105**		234
	4.11	**5.11**	**1.57**	**101**		228
	4.12	**5.6**				227
	4.13		**1.62**	**103**		223
	4.14		**1.75**	×		180
	4.15	**5.17**	**1.74**	×		218
5.7				×		159

[1] cf. above Cv 1.7.

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
5.9				×		86
6.4				×		92
6.9				×		243
[1]	5.1					23
[1]	5.2					24
[1]	5.3		**2.21**	**64**		11
[1]	5.4		**2.22**	**65**		12
[1]	5.5		**2.23**	**66**		13
[1]	5.6		**2.24**	**70**		14
[1]	5.7		**2.25**	**69**		15
[1]	5.8		**2.26**	**67**		16
[1]	5.9		**2.27**	**68**		17
[2]	5.15		**3.55**			166
[3]	5.19	**"S"**	**3.94**	×		271
6.11	6.1	**2.16**		**31**		151
6.12	[4]					23
6.13	[4]					24
6.14	[4]		**2.21**	**64**		11

[1] cf. below CV 6.12-20.
[2] cf. below CV 8.5.
[3] cf. below CV 14.12.
[4] cf. above Cv 5.1-9.

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
6.15	[1]		**2.22**	**65**		12
6.16	[1]		**2.23**	**66**		13
6.17	[1]		**2.24**	**70**		14
6.18	[1]		**2.25**	**69**		15
6.19	[1]		**2.26**	**67**		16
6.20	[1]		**2.27**	**68**		17
7.11	6.4					156
7.12	6.5	**7.46**		×		130
7.13	6.6	**4.15**		×		62
7.15	6.8	**4.12**				49
8.5	[2]		**3.55**			166
[3]	6.9	**4.14**				61
	6.10	**4.13**				60
	6.13	**5.38**		×		70
	7.2					178
	7.7	**2.18**	**2.6**	×		152
	CvTb 7.24			×		192
	8.2	**1.10**	**3.1**	×	**"E"**	141

[1] cf. above Cv 5.1-9.
[2] cf. above Cv 5.15.
[3] cf. below CV 15.5.

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
8.8					**2.10**	157
	8.12		**1.66**	**2**		205
8.17			**3.80**	×	**4.1**	37
8.18		**8.130**	×	**78**	**4.3**	98
8.22						105
	CvL I 8.43	×				273
	CvL I 8.45					169
9.3		×				253
9.6						250
9.7						255
10.5						254
10.11						257
11.2						28
12.3						162
12.7				×		259
13.7		×	**2.2**	×	**2.7**	242
14.3				×		103
14.4				×		138
14.11		**7.9**		×		272

CV	Cv	CR	CS	CN	CL	Crn
14.12	1	**"S"**	**3.94**	×		271
15.5	2	**4.14**				61
16.4		**2.24**				261
16.7			**2.13**	**"R"**		133
CVNS 16.21						246
CVNS 16.22						100
17.19				×		260

[1] cf. above Cv 5.19.
[2] cf. above Cv 6.9.

CN	CS	CV	Cv	CR	CL	Crn
1	**1.46**				**6.9**	78
2	**1.66**		**8.12**			205
6	**3.77**	×				245
15		**1.12**	**1.13**	**2.27**		117
16	**3.61**	**2.5**	**2.5**	**8.49**		118
18	**3.46**	**2.6**	**2.6**	**7.28**		123
19	**1.72**	**1.12**	**1.11**	**2.40**		201
20	**2.9**			**3.16**		135
25	**3.48**	**1.15**	**1.16**	**2.21**		267
29		**3.10**	**1.7**	**2.3**		154
31		**6.11**	**6.1**	**2.16**		151
34		**1.9**	**1.10**	**"B"**		107
35		**1.8**	**1.9**	**2.26**		109
36	**2.8**	**2.7**	**2.7**			144
37	**3.62**					113
55						101
60	**1.81**			**8.38**		40
64	**2.21**	**6.14**	**5.3**			11
65	**2.22**	**6.15**	**5.4**			12
66	**2.23**	**6.16**	**5.5**			13

CN	CS	CV	Cv	CR	CL	Crn
67	**2.26**	**6.19**	**5.8**			16
68	**2.27**	**6.20**	**5.9**			17
69	**2.25**	**6.18**	**5.7**			15
70	**2.24**	**6.17**	**5.6**			14
74	**2.74**					34
77	**2.79**					164
78		**8.18**		**8.130**	**4.3**	98
79						250
83	**1.67**			**5.29**		208
84	**1.68**			**5.30**		209
85				**2.49**		215
93						116
95						87
98						158
99	**1.52**		**4.8**	**5.13**		229
100	**1.54**			**5.3**		219
101	**1.57**		**4.11**	**5.11**		228
102	**1.59**					226
103	**1.62**		**4.13**			223
104	**1.63**					235

CN	CS	CV	Cv	CR	CL	Crn
105	**1.58**		**4.10**	**5.10**		234
106	**1.60**			**5.5**		224
"R"	**2.13**	**16.7**				133
CNG 43 [1]						186
CNG 46 [2]						111
CNG 140 [3]				×		160
CNG 151				×		266
CNG 162 [4]				×		115
CNG 215						29
CNG 256						112
CNG 287						9
CNG 305 [5]						275

[1] CNG 43, CNW 44, CNF 26 & 127, CNI I 237, CNPh 98.
[2] CNG 46, CNI I 208.
[3] CNG 140, CNI I 75.
[4] CNG 162, CNI I 78.
[5] CNG 305, CNI I 36, CNT IV 244.

CN	CS	CV	Cv	CR	CL	Crn
CNG 311						249
CNG 325 [1]						262
CNG 328 [2]						93
CNW 30						114
CNW 65						270
CNW 88 [3]						274
CNW 92 [4]						77
CNW 96				×		165
CNW 100						129
CNW 103 [5]						265
CNW 105						150

[1] CNG 325, CNI I 236, CNP II 236.
[2] CNG 328, CNP II 163.
[3] CNW 88, CNPṆ 68.
[4] CNW 92, CNF 22, CNL 38.
[5] CNW 103, CNPh 73.

CN	CS	CV	Cv	CR	CL	Crn
CNP II 3						171
CNP II 61 [1]						258
CNP II 117						252
CNP II 141						104
CNP II 200 [2]						39
CNP II 211						237
CNPN 73 [3]						106
CNPN 76						179
CNPN 94						170
CNPN 101						20
CNI I 13				×		75
CNI I 200						80
CNT IV 251						140
CNI II 26						25

[1] CNP 61, CNP II 87, CNT IV 61, CNM 61.
[2] CNP II 200, CNI I 278, CNT IV 237.
[3] CNPN 73, CNF 70.

CL	CS	CV	Cv	CN	CR	Crn
1.9						185
1.11						274
2.5	**1.92**					27
2.7	**2.2**	**13.7**		×	×	242
2.10		**8.8**				157
4.1	**3.80**	**8.17**		×		37
4.3		**8.18**		**78**	**8.130**	98
4.4						33
"E"	**3.1**		**8.2**	×	**1.10**	141
5.1						264
"F"	**3.15**			×		71
"G"						182
6.1						244
6.2						73
6.9	**1.46**			**1**		78

B. TEXT

I. INTRODUCTORY STANZAS

प्रणम्य शिरसा विष्णुं त्रैलोक्याधिपतिं प्रभुम् ।
नानाशास्त्रोद्धृतं वक्ष्ये राजनीतिसमुच्चयम् ॥ १ ॥
तदहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।
यस्य विज्ञानमात्रेण सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रपद्यते ॥ २ ॥
नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि अर्थशास्त्रादिसंश्रितम् ।
राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यमायुःस्वर्गादिदायकम् ॥ ३ ॥

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1. CV 1.1, Cv 1.1, CR 1.2, CS 1.1. Also CNG 1, CNI I 1, CnT II 1.1, CnT III 1.1, CnT VI 1, CnT V 1, CPS 1.2.

Also found in LN(P) 1.

(*a*) बुद्धं [वि°] CSLd.
(*c*) शास्त्रोचितं CRBh II, °दितं CvH, °विधिं CvL II.

2. CV 1.3, Cv 1.3, CS 1.3. Also CNI I 4, CNG 2, CNT IV 1, CnT I 1.4, CnT III 1.4, CnT VI 1.4, CnT V 3, CPS 2.5.

Also see TK(OJ) 7.

(*b*) नराणां CNI I, Cv, CS; °कारणम् CNI I.
(*c*) येन CVB_1, CVB_2, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh, CVP, CNG, CNI I, Cv, CS.
(*d*) प्रजायते Cv, CNI I; हि जायते CvW.

3. CRCa II 1.

Also in GP 1.108.1.

(*b*) सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिश्चितम् CRCa II.
(*d*) आयुरारोग्यदा° CRCa II.

पार्थिवस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि भृत्यानां चैव लक्षणम् ।
यथाभिज्ञो महीपालः सम्यग् भृत्यान् प्रपालयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

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4. CR 4.1. Also CPS 83.1.

Also in GP 1.111.1. Also found in NM(T) 71. Also see RN(P) 2.

(*a*) °वस्यैव व° CRC, CPS; तु व° GP, GPy.
(*c*) सर्वाणि हि (यो GPy) GP, GPy.
(*d*) सम्यङ् नित्यं परीक्षयेत् GP, GPy; भूतान् CRC, CPS; परीक्षयेत् CRT.

II. KING'S DUTIES AND QUALITIES

Main Duties and Qualities of the King

लिङ्गपूजनधर्मात्मा गोब्राह्मणहिते रतः ।
प्रजाः पालयितुं शक्तः स राजा यो जितेन्द्रियः ॥ ५ ॥
स्वं राष्ट्रं पालयेन्नित्यं सत्यधर्मपरायणः ।
निर्जित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ ६ ॥
ॐकारशब्दो विप्राणां यस्य राष्ट्रे प्रवर्तते ।
स राजा हि भवेद् योगी व्याधिभिश्च न पीड्यते ॥ ७ ॥

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5. CR 4.7. Also CPS 85.5.
Also in GP 1.111.7.

(*a*) अभ्यर्च्य विष्णुं ध° GP, GPy; °पूजक° CRB.
(*d*) पार्थिवो विजिते° GP, GPy.

6. CR 4.2.
Also in GP. 1.111.2. Also see SRN(T) 163.

(*a*) स्वरा° CRP, CRBh I; सुरा° CRCa I; राज्यं पालयते CRT, GP, GPy.
(*d*) यत्नेन [ध°] CRC, CRBh I.

7. CR 4.9. Also CPS 85.7.
Also in GP 1.111.15.

(*b*) येन राष्ट्रं प्रवर्धते GP, GPy.
(*c*) वर्धते योगाद् [हि भ°] GP, GPy.
(*d*) स [च] CRBh II; बध्यते [पी°] GP; विध्यते [पी°] GPy.

अनाथानां नाथो गतिरगतिकानां व्यसनिनां
विनेता भीतानामभयमधृतीनां भरवशः ।
सुहृद् बन्धुः स्वामी शरणमुपकारी वरगुरुः
पिता माता भ्राता जगति पुरुषो यः स नृपतिः ॥ ८ ॥

दुष्टस्य दण्डः सुजनस्य पूजा
न्यायेन कोशस्य विवर्धनं च ।
अपक्षपातोऽर्थिषु राज्यरक्षा
पञ्चैव यज्ञाः कथिता नृपाणाम् ॥ ९ ॥

पात्रे त्यागी गुणे रागी भोगी परिजनैः सह ।
शास्त्रे बोद्धा रणे योद्धा नृपतेः पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ १० ॥

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8. CR 4.30. Also CPS 89.19.
Also see DhN(P) 263, SN(P) 62.

(*b*) विनीतो CRC, CPS.
(*c*) ब° स्वा° tr. CRCa I.

Śikhariṇī metre.

9. CNG 287.
Also in VCsr 8.2, Vet 23.37 (p. 123), IS 2890, Subh 31.

(*a*) स्वजनस्य Subh.
(*b*) च संप्रवृद्धिः [वि°] VC.
(*c*) सुपक्ष° TE in VC; विषयेषु [ऽर्थि°] Subh.
(*d*) धर्माः [य°] Subh; कथितं JQ in VC.

Upajāti metre (Indravajrā and Upendravajrā).

10. CS 2.5. Also CVM 6.20, CRCa I 3.3.
Also in ŚKDr *ad* पुरुष, SRBh 142.12, IS 4032, Pras 6.1, Subh 4, 175, SuM 28.6. Also see DhN(P) 263, SN(P) 62.

(*b*) भोगे (°ग्ये CSC II), CSB I, CSB II, CSJ, CRCa I, CSC II; परिजने CSJ, CSC I, CRCa I.

सिंहादेकं बकादेकं शिक्षेच्चत्वारि कुक्कुटात् ।
वायसात् पञ्च शिक्षेच्च षट् शुनस्त्रीणि गर्दभात् ॥ ११ ॥
प्रभूतं कार्यमल्पं वा यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।
सर्वारम्भेण तत् कुर्यात् सिंहादेकं प्रचक्षते ॥ १२ ॥

(*c*) भाव° [शा°] Pras, SRBh.

(*d*) प्रभुः पञ्चगुणो भवेत् Pras, SRBh; पुरुषाः पञ्चलक्षणाः Subh; पुरुषः पञ्चलक्षणः ŚKDr, CRCa I, IS.

This maxim generally has a wider application; it applies to all men and not only to kings.

11. CV 6.14, Cv 5.3, CS 2.21, CN 64, *ad/cb.* Also CnT II 7.3, CnT III 5.3, CnT VI 77, CnT VII 32, CPS 173.106.

Also in SRBh 162.397, IS 7041. Also found in RN(P) 48, NM(T) 2.8.

(*b*) तथा च° CNPh; च° कुक्कुटादपि CN, SRBh.

(*c*) वायसाच्च तु शिक्षेत CNS; काकात् शिक्षेत चत्वारि CNŚPK; शिक्षेत CNTC, CNŚl, CNŚL, CNŚ, CNŚT, CNNM, CNŚlK, CNŚlB, CNNSS, CNI I, CvṢ, CvA, CvGt, CvL I.

(*d*) रासभात् CvṢ, CvTb, CvL I, CvA.

12. CV 6.15, Cv 5.4, CS 2.22, CN 65. Also CnT II 7.4, CnT III 5.4, CnT VI 78, CnT VII 33, CPS 173.107.

Also in SRBh 162.398, IS 4261. Also found in RN(P) 49, NM(T) 2.9.

(*a*) प्रभूत° CVLd, CSBD, CSLd, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ, CPS, CSB I; प्रभूतमल्पकार्यं (or °ल्पं का° CNŚL, CNŚl, CNŚ, CNSR, CNŚT, CNNM, CNŚlB, CNNSS) CNTC, CNH, CNŚA, CNNS, CNŚB, CNŚlC, CNŚCV, CNŚl, CNŚ, CNSR, CNSS, CNNM, CNŚlK, CNŚlV, CNŚPK, CNNSS, CNS, CNŚT, CNŚlB, SRBh; च [वा] CVAh.

इन्द्रियाणि च संयम्य बकवत् पण्डितो नरः ।
देशकालबलं ज्ञात्वा सर्वकार्याणि साधयेत् ॥ १३ ॥
प्रत्युत्थानं च युद्धं च संविभागं च बन्धुषु ।
स्वयमाक्रम्य भुञ्जीत शिक्षेच्चत्वारि कुक्कुटात् ॥ १४ ॥

(*b*) यन्नरः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CPS.
(*c*) सर्वारम्भं ततः CSLd, CSJ; सम्यग् (°क् CNJV, CNŚL) यत्नेन [स°] CNTC, CNS, CNJV, CNŚI; सर्वारम्भेषु CS; कार्यं $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVB_1, CVB_2, CVAh, CVP, CVLd, CNG, CS.
(*d*) सिंहस्यैकं पदं यथा CvP IV, CvP V, CvLd; प्रकीर्तितम् Cv, CN; प्रचक्ष्यते CVB_2; विधीयते [प्र°] CS.

13. CV 6.16, Cv 5.5, CS 2.23, CN 66. Also CnT II 7.5, CnT III 5.5, CnT VI 79, CnT VII 34, CPS 173.108.

Also in SRBh 162.399, IS 6950. Also found in RN(P) 50, NM(T) 2.10.

(*a*) सर्वेन्द्रियाणि सं° CN (इन्द्रियाणि वशे यस्य CNI II), SRBh; तु [च] CS.
(*b*) पतितो Cv, CNS; जनः CN.
(*c*) कार्यकालोपपन्नानि CS (कार्ये काले प्रपन्नानि CSC I); कार्यकाले समुत्पन्ने CNI II; कालदेशोपपन्नानि CvP V, CN (देशकालोप° CNŚI, CNŚ, CNSR, CNŚT, CNNM, CNŚIK, CNŚIB, CNSS); देशकालप्रयोगज्ञः CvP IV.

14. CV 6.17, Cv 5.6, CS 2.24, CN 70. Also CnT II 7.6, CnT III 5.6, CnT VI 80, CnT VII 35, CPS 174.109.

Also in SRBh 162.403, IS 5510. Also found in RN(P) 51, NM(T) 2.11.

(*a*) युद्धं च प्रातरुत्थानं CN (CNG as above); प्रागुत्थानं CVLd, CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvL I, CS; युद्धेषु CVK.
(*b*) भोजनं सह बन्धुभिः CN (CNG, CNPh as above); सवि° CSJ; स° [च] CSB II; बन्धुभिः CvGt.
(*c*) स्त्रियमापद्गतां रक्षेत् CN; स्त्रियम् CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvGt, CvL I, CvL II, CvLd, CS; प्रियम् [स्व°] CNŚA;

गूढमैथुनधार्ष्ट्यं च काले काले च संग्रहम् ।
अप्रमादमविश्वासं पञ्च शिक्षेच्च वायसात् ॥ १५ ॥
बह्वाशी स्वल्पसंतुष्टः सुनिद्रो लघुचेतनः ।
स्वामिभक्तश्च शूरश्च षडेते श्वानतो गुणाः ॥ १६ ॥

भोगं च CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_3$, CVK$_1$, CVLd, CPS; भुक्तं च CVBn$_2$.

(*d*) चत्वार्येतानि IS.

15. CV 6.18, Cv 5.7, CS 2.25, CN 69. Also CnT II 7.7, CnT III 5.7, CnT VI 81, CnT VII 36, CPS 174.110.

Also in SRBh 162.404, IS 2183. Also found in RN(P) 52, NM(T) 2.12.

(*a*) गूढं च मैथुनं धा° CPS, CNTC; गूढमैथुनधृष्टत्वं CS, CNR; लक्ष्यैकदृष्टितां CNŚl, CNŚL; आकारेङ्गितगूढत्वं CNSR, CNŚ, CNNM, CNŚlK, CNŚlB; चातुर्यं क्षिप्रकारित्वं CNŚT; °मैथुनधर्मं च CN; °धीरत्वं CVAh.

(*b*) समये खाद्यसंग्रहः CNŚPK; चालयसंग्रहः (°हम् CNG, Cv) CNI I, CNPh, CNG, Cv, CPS, SRBh; काले च बलि° CS (CSC I, CSJ as Cv); संग्रहः CvP IV, CvP V, CvLd.

(*c*) अप्रमादमनालस्यं CPS; अविश्वासोऽप्रमत्तत्वं CVB$_2$; अविश्वासः CvP IV, CvLd; अनालस्यं CN.

(*d*) चतुः [प°] CNŚJ, CNH, CNJV, CNNS, CNŚB, CNŚlC, CNŚCV, CNSS, CNŚlK, CNŚPK; शिक्षेत CNSS, SRBh.

16. CV 6.19, Cv 5.8, CS. 2.26, CN 67. Also CnT II 7.8, CnT III 5.8, CnT VI 82, CnT VII 37, CPS 174.111.

Also in SRBh 162.400, ŚKDr *ad* बह्वाशी, IS 4427. Also found in RN(P) 53, NM(T) 2.13.

(*a*) चाल्प° Cv, CS (अल्प° CSB II), CNPh, CNI I.

(*b*) शीघ्रचे° CS, CN, CvṢ, CvA, CvW, CvTb, CvGt, CvL I, SRBh.

सुश्रान्तोऽपि वहेद् भारं शीतोष्णं न च पश्यति ।
संतुष्टश्चरते नित्यं त्रीणि शिक्षेच्च गर्दभात् ॥ १७ ॥
विंशदेते गुणाः प्रोक्ता यस्तु कुर्याद् विचक्षणः ।
स जेष्यति रिपून् सर्वान् जेयश्च न भविष्यति ॥ १८ ॥

(*c*) सदा भक्तः सकृत् कामी CNPh; प्रभुभक्तश्च CN, CvP IV, CvP V, SRBh.

(*d*) ज्ञातव्याः षट् शुनो गुणाः CN; श्वानजा CVG; कुक्कुराद् [श्वा°] CVBn$_1$.

17. CV 6.20, Cv 5.9, CS 2.27, CN 68. Also CnT II 7.9, CnT III 5.9, CnT VI 83, CnT VII 38, CPS 175.112.

Also in SRBh 167.401, IS 694. Also found in RN(P) 54, NM(T) 2.14.

(*a*) अविश्रामं CN (CNG as above), Cv (CvH as above); अविश्रान्तं CS; सुश्रान्तश्च CvW; अश्रान्तं यो CvṢ; हि [ऽपि] CVBn$_1$.

(*b*) च न विन्दति CN (च न tr. CNŚ, CNSR; CNG as above), Cv, CS, SRBh; विन्दते CvP IV; विद्यते CSLd, CSC I.

(*c*) सुसंतुष्टः सदा Cv (CvH, CvW as above); संतोषी च चरेत् CvGt; संतोषश्च भवेत् CvP IV, CvP V, CvLd, CSBD; ससंतोषस्तथा CN (CNG as above); सुसंतुष्टो भवेत् CS.

(*d*) शिक्षेत CN (CNG as above), CS (CSBD as above), CPS, CvW, CvGt, SRBh; रासभात् CvA, CvW, CvL I, CvL II, CvGt, CvṢ, CvLd.

18. CS 2.28.

Also found in RN(P) 55, NM(T) 2.15.

(*a*) विंशत्यश्च CSC II.

(*d*) न जेयश्च CSB I, CSB II, CSC I.

Good and Bad King

उत्खातान् प्रतिरोपयन् कुसुमितांश्चिन्वन् लघून् वर्धयन्
अत्युच्चान् नमयन् पृथून् विदलयन् विश्लेषयन् संहतान् ।
तीक्ष्णान् कण्टकिनो बहिर्नियमयन् स्वारोपितान् पालयन्
मालाकार इव प्रयोगकुशलो राज्ये चिरं तिष्ठति ॥ १९॥
परेण चिन्तितो मन्त्रो दैवेन च निवारितः ।
साधुपथस्थितो राजा भगवान् दैवकिर्यथा ॥ २० ॥

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19. CR 4.31. Also CPS 89.20.

Also in BhŚ 420 *ac/bd*, Nav 7, Han 9.34, ŚP 1294, SRBh 142.15, SV 2947, SRK 124.24, IS 1171, Subh 222 *ac/bd*, SMV 20.13 & fo. 45b, JSV 119.1, SuM 20.14 and B after 32.11; cf. Navaratnaya (Ceyl) 11.

(*a*) उत्पातान् IS.; शिशून् [ल°] Nav.
(*b*) उत्तुङ्गान् IS; पृथूंश्च लघयन् ŚP; प्रोत्तुङ्गान् Nav; नमयन् नतान् समुदयन् SRK, Nav, SRBh; शनैरवनतान् संवर्धयन् भूतले [पृ°] BhŚ; संततान् IS.
(*c*) कुञ्जात् BhŚ; कुब्जान् ŚP, Subh; क्रूरान् SRK; तीव्रान् Nav; अन्तः IS; क्षुद्रान् SRBh; निगम° CRBh II; विदलयन् [नि°] CRB; विरच्चयन् BhŚ, IS; निरसयन् CRCa I, CRBh I, ŚP, SRK; संरो° IS; म्लानान् (ग्ला° Nav) मुहुः (पुनः SRBh, ŚP, SRK; BhŚ has वि° from *b*) सेचयन् (सिञ्च° IS; सेव° IS) [स्वा°] Nav, SRBh, ŚP, SRK; संस्थितान् [सं°] Subh.
(*d*) प्रपञ्चचतुरो राजा चिरं नन्दति BhŚ, SRK; प्रयोगनिपुणो CRC, CPS, Nav, SRBh, ŚP; °निपुणो IS; राजा CRBh II, Nav, SRBh, ŚP; तिष्ठतु CRB; नन्दतु Nav, नन्दति SRBh, ŚP.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

20. CNPN 101.
Also in CM 103.

(*a*) नरेण [प°] would be better.
(*d*) दैवकी CNPN.

पार्थिवस्य च भृत्यस्य वदामि गुणलक्षणम् ।
येन संवर्धते राजा भाण्डागारस्तथैव च ॥ २१ ॥
अनायव्ययकर्ता च अनाथः कलहप्रियः ।
आतुरः सर्वभक्षी च नरः शीघ्रं विनश्यति ॥ २२ ॥
वरं न राज्यं न कुराजराज्यं
वरं न मित्रं न कुमित्रमित्रम् ।
वरं न शिष्यो न कुशिष्यशिष्यो
वरं न दारा न कुदारदाराः ॥ २३ ॥

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21. CS 1.64, Cv 4.7. Also CNI I 258 *ab*, CnT II 6.1, CnT III 4.8, CnT VI 63.

Also in IS 7587. Also see NM(T) 7.1.

(*a*) तु (च CvP V) वक्ष्यामि (°क्षा CvP IV) [च भृ°] Cv, CNI I.

(*b*) भृत्यानां [व] Cv; चैव लक्षणम् CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvGt, CvL II.

(*c*) ते नियोज्या यथायोग्यं CNG; तद् वर्धते CvTb; राज्यं Cv; राष्ट्रं [रा°] IS (better).

(*d*) त्रिविधेष्वेव कर्मसु CNG.

22. CS 2.19.

Also in IS 114.

(*a*) अनालोक्य व्ययं कर्ता CV; अनार्यं च व्ययं कृत्वा CSLd, CSJ, CSC I; अज्ञो यो व्ययशीलश्च Subh; अन्याय° CSB II.

(*b*) अनर्थ° CSBD.

(*d*) स च सर्वत्र नश्यति CSB I.

23. CV 6.12, Cv 5.1. Also CnT II 7.1, CnT III 5.1, CnT VI 75, CnT VII 44, CPS 171.101.

Also in IS 5963, Subh 136 *cd*/*ab*. Cf. CN 95.

Upendravajrā metre.

कुराजराज्येन कुतः प्रजासुखं
कुमित्रमित्रेण कुतोऽस्ति निर्वृतिः ।
कुदारदारैश्च कुतो गृहे रतिः
कुशिष्यमध्यापयतः कुतो यशः ॥ २४ ॥
भोगिनः कञ्चुकासक्ताः क्रूराः कुटिलगामिनः ।
फणिनो मन्त्रसाध्याश्च राजानो भुजगा इव ॥ २५ ॥

Governing in accordance with Dharma

कुमित्रे नास्ति विश्वासः कुभार्यायां कुतो रतिः ।
कुराज्ये नास्ति निर्वृत्तिः कुदेशे नास्ति जीवितम् ॥ २६ ॥

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24. CV 6.13, Cv 5.2. Also CnT II 7.2, CnT III 5.2, CnT VI 76, CPS 171.102.
Also in IS 1809. Cf. CN 95.

(*a*) कुराज्य° CvW; °जेन CvL II.
(*b*) ऽपि [ऽस्ति] CvP V, CvL II; ऽमिनिर्वृतिः CVBn$_1$, CVLd.
(*c*) सुखं [र°] CVBn$_1$.
(*d*) कुतः सुखम् CPS, CvP IV, CvP V.

Vaṃśastha metre.

25. CNI II 26, CRT 3.24.
Also in PRE 1.27, PT 1.23, PTem 1.26, PP 1.50, Pts 1.65, PtsK 1.73, Śts 20.11-2, IS 4635, SRHt 64.5, SRBh 146.174, SuM 20.11, SRK 124.23.

(*a*) °विष्टाः [°स°] Pts, PtsK, CC$_1$ in Śts.
(*b*) कुटिलाः क्रूरचेष्टिताः CRT, Pts, PtsK.
(*c*) सुरौद्रा [फ°] PP; सुदुष्टा Pts; सुहृद्घ्रा CRT, PtsK; सुहृष्टा Śts (v.l.); मन्त्रमासाद्य CRT; दुःखोपसर्पणीयाश्च Śts.
(*d*) राजानः पन्नगा इव PP, Pts, PtsK, IS.

26. CS 3.53. Also CNPh 132, CNP II 241, CNG 158 *cb/ad*, CRT 8.3 *cb/ad*, CnT II 20.7, CnT III 53.6.

धर्मस्य मूलं राजानस्तपोमूलं च ब्राह्मणाः ।
ब्राह्मणा यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र धर्मः सनातनः ॥ २७ ॥
आत्मवर्गं परित्यज्य परवर्गं समाश्रयेत् ।
स्वयमेव लयं याति यथा राजान्यधर्मतः ॥ २८ ॥
राज्यं च संपदो भोगाः कुले जन्म पवित्रता ।
पाण्डित्यमायुरारोग्यं धर्मस्यैतत् फलं विदुः ॥ २९ ॥

Also in MBh 12.139.93, GP 1.115.4 *cb/ad*, IS 1800, Subh 31 & 120 *ab/dc*, SRBh 393.637.

(*a*) कुमित्रिणि न CSBD; कुमन्त्री CSLd, CSB I, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ; कुपुत्रे MBh, CNP II; कस्य [ना°] CRT.
(*b*) कुभार्या च CSLd, CSC II; कुतः सुखम् Subh.
(*c*) कुराज्यं (जे° IS) CSLd, CSC II, IS; कुपुत्रे निर्वृतिः कस्य CRT; कुपुत्रे GP; कुमुनिर् IS; कुपात्रे CNG; निर्वृतिर्नास्ति CNG, GP, IS, MBh.
(*d*) कुराज्ये CNG, GP; कुराजे CRT; जीविका MBh, CNP II.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

27. CS 1.92, CL 2.5.
Also in IS 7557.

(*b*) तपोमूलं च साधवः CLI, CLTb, CLP II; तपसो ब्राह्मणस्तथा CLL I; तपोमूलमृषीश्वराः CLA, CLP V; राज्ञां मूलं तु पण्डिताः CLṢ; तेषां मू° CSBD.
(*c*) साधवो CLI, CLTb, CLP IV; पण्डिता CLṢ; ऋषयो CLA (see *b*).

28. CV 11.2. Also CPS 290.3.
Also in IS 906. Cf. Subh 199 & 255, IS 901.

(*b*) य आश्रयेत् CVK.
(*d*) राज्यमधर्मतः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CPS.

29. CNG 215.
Also in IS 5772, Subh 103.

(*b*) सुरूपता [प°] Subh.

राष्ट्रं पालयते नित्यं सत्यधर्मपरायणः ।
निर्जित्य परसैन्यानि पतिधर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ ३० ॥
कारणेन विना भृत्ये यस्तु कुप्यति पार्थिवः ।
स गृह्णाति विषोन्मादं कृष्णसर्पमदंशितः ॥ ३१ ॥
किं चित्रं यदि शब्दशास्त्रकुशलो विप्रो भवेत् पण्डितः
किं चित्रं यदि दण्डनीतिनिपुणो राजा भवेद् धार्मिकः ।
तच्चित्रं यदि रूपयौवनवती साध्वी भवेदङ्गना
तच्चित्रं यदि निर्धनोऽपि पुरुषः पापं न कुर्यात् क्वचित् ॥
दृढा सद्भिः सभाकीर्णा दृढो राजा सुधार्मिकः ।
दृढा पतिव्रता नारी स्थलं तृणमयं दृढम् ॥ ३३ ॥

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30. CS 2.16.
Also in IS 5785.

(*a*) राष्ट्रं च पालयेत् CSBD.

31. CRT 4.10.
Also in GP 1.111.27.

(*d*) °सर्पविसर्जितम् GP.

32. CR 7.12. Also CvL I 8.39, CPS 202.70.
Also in GP 1.114.14, SRBh 179.1029 *ba/cd*, SRK 232.24 *ba/cd* (ascribed to *Subhātaraṅga*), IS 1743, Subh 128.

(*a*) वेदशास्त्रनिपुणो CvL I, SRBh, SRK, Subh; °निरतो [°कु°] CRBh I.
(*b*) नीतिदण्डनि° CRCa I; नीतिशास्त्रनि° CvL I, Subh; राजनीति-कुशलो SRBh, SRK; °कुशलो [°नि°] GP, GPy.
(*c*) किं चित्रं GP, GPy; योषिन्न साध्वी भवेत् GP, GPy; °वेत् कामिनी CRBh II, CvL I, SRBh, SRK, Subh.
(*d*) किं चित्रं GP, GPy; निर्दयो SRK.
Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

33. CL 4.4.
Also in CM 75.

Protection of His Subjects

समुद्रावरणा भूमिः प्राकारावरणं गृहम् ।
नरेन्द्रावरणो देशश्चारित्रावरणाः स्त्रियः ॥ ३४ ॥
पत्यौ भक्तिर्व्रतं स्त्रीणामद्रोहो मन्त्रिणां व्रतम् ।
प्रजानां पालनं राज्ञां व्रतं शीलं महात्मनाम् ॥ ३५ ॥
अहेतु भ्रूकुटिं नैव सदा कुर्वीत पार्थिवः ।
विना दोषेण यो भृत्यान् राजा धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ ३६ ॥

(*a*) दृढो CLT, CLB; दृढं CLH, CLA, CLṢ, CLL I; विप्रः CLT, CLB; श्रुताकीर्णो CLT, CLB.

(*b*) सधा° CLP V, CLL I, CLTb, CLH; च धा° CLT, CLB.

(*d*) गृहं [स्थ°] CLṢ, CLP II.

34. CS 2.74, CN 74. Also CPS 365.38.
Also in SRBh 162.407, IS 6862.

(*a*) भूमी CSB II; पृथ्वी [भू°] CSLd.

(*d*) चरित्रावरणाः CNŚT, CNPh.

35. CRP 1.34, CRBh I 1.34, CRBh II 1.36.
Also in RT 2.48 *ab*, IS 3901 *ab*.

(*b*) नृपे [व्र°] CRP, CRBh I.

(*c*) प्रजानु° CRBh II.

(*cd*) प्रजानुपालनेऽनन्यकर्मता भूभृतां व्रतम् RT.

36. CRT 4.14.
Also in GP 1.111.30.

(*a*) हुंकारं भ्रकुटीं GP.

(*d*) ऽधर्मेण शास्ति च GP.

शुचि भूमिगतं तोयं शुचिर्नारी पतिव्रता ।
शुचिः क्षेमकरो राजा संतोषी ब्राह्मणः शुचिः ॥ ३७ ॥
अनाथानां दरिद्राणां बालवृद्धतपस्विनाम् ।
अन्यायपरिभूतानां सर्वेषां पार्थिवो गतिः ॥ ३८ ॥
दुर्बलानामनाथानां बालवृद्धतपस्विनाम् ।
अन्यायपरिभूतानां सर्वेषां पार्थिवो गतिः ॥ ३९ ॥
दुर्बलस्य बलं राजा बालानां रोदनं बलम् ।
बलं मूर्खस्य मौनित्वं चोराणामनृतं बलम् ॥ ४० ॥

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37. CV 8.17, CL 4.1, CS 3.80. Also CNN 21, CNG 117, CnT II 10.8, CnT III 7.17, CnT V 33, CnT I 16.

Also in SRBh 156.143, IS 6481, CKl 68, CPS 260.108. (Cf. ŚP 611, Mn 5.130.)

(*a*) शुद्धं CV.
(*b*) शुद्धा CV, CPS.
(*c*) क्षेमंकरो CS, CNN; क्षमाकरो CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ, CKl, CNN.
(*d*) संतुष्टो $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh, CVK_1, CVP, CVLd, CNN, CPS; ब्रह्मचारी सदा CNG.

38. CS 1.82. Also CNG 265. (Cf. No. 39 below.)
Also in IS 7443.

(*a*) अ° द्र° tr. CNG.

39. CNP II 200, CNI I 278, CNT IV 237.

Also in Oa in VCbr after 30.0.20 (p. 338a), C in Vet after 3.37 (p. 123) and d in Vet after 14.14 (p. 162), IS 2868, Subh 102. (Cf. No 38 above.)

(*c*) परैस्तु परि° VCbr.

40. CS 1.81, CN 60, CR 8.38. Also CnT II 10.7, CnT III 7.15, CnT V 31, CnT I 15, CPS 365.37.

Also in GP 1.115.41, ŚKDr *ad* बल, SRBh 162.393, IS 2866, Subh 102, VP 9.57. Also see LN(P) 118, DhN(P) 149, NKy(B) 146.

राजपत्नी गुरोः पत्नी मित्रपत्नी तथैव च ।
पत्नीमाता स्वमाता च पञ्चैता मातरः स्मृताः ॥ ४१ ॥
निर्धनं पुरुषं वेश्या प्रजा भग्नं नृपं त्यजेत् ।
खगा वीतफलं वृक्षं भुक्त्वा चाभ्यागता गृहम् ॥ ४२ ॥

(*a*) अबलस्य CR, ŚKDr.
(*b*) रुदितं (रो° CSJ) CSLd, CSC II, CSJ, CR (CRP, CRBh I as above), CNP I, CNP II, CNI I, CNL, ŚKDr, Subh.
(*c*) मौनत्वं CSC I, CSC II, CRP, CRBh II, CNPN, CNI I, CNI II, CNM, Subh; मौनं तु ŚKDr; मूर्खत्वं [मौ°] CNG.
(*d*) तस्करस्यानृतं CR (तस्करस्य निशा CRBh I), CNP I, CNP II, CNM, CNPN, CNI I, ŚKDr, Subh.

41. CV 4.20, Cv 4.4, CS 1.20. Also CRB 8.98, CRP 8.96, CRBh I 8.107, CNT IV 241, CnT II 5.10, CnT III 4.5, CnT VI 60, CnT V 54, CPS 130.62.

Also in SRBh 160.326, IS 5743, Subh 168. Also found in ShD(T) 238.

(*a*) गुरुपत्नी राजपत्नी CS; गुरुपत्नी CvW, CvL II.
(*ab*) गु° मि° रा° tr. CRB, CRP, CRBh I.
(*b*) भ्रातृपत्नी SRBh.
(*c*) च माता CvL II; श्वश्रूः पूर्वजपत्नी च CRP, CRBh I.

42. CV 2.17. Also CPS 30.16.

Also in IS 3761. Compare PtsK 2.102, PP 1.114 & 2.41, PN 2.41, BhP 10.47.7-8, KN 5.63, AS 24.12, JM 38, RK 12.40, DK 93, 709-10, DKB 734-5, DhD 2.34, HeK 220.5, MŚ 9.10, 19.61, KS 5.78, 86-7, ŚM 4.10.

(*b*) भग्ननृपं $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$.
(*d*) भुक्ताश्चा° CVB_2; °गतो $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh.

Collection of the King's Treasury

राजा धर्मेण कुर्वीत धनसंचयमेकतः ।
अन्यतस्तेन सततं वर्धयेदुत्तमान् द्विजान् ॥ ४३ ॥
असमर्थाः प्रकुर्वन्ति मुनयोऽप्यर्थसंचयम् ।
किं न कुर्वन्ति भूपाला येषां कोशवशाः प्रजाः ॥ ४४ ॥
क्षणसंपदियं सुदुर्लभा
प्रतिलब्धा पुरुषार्थसाधनी ।
यदि नात्र विचिन्वते हितं
पुनरप्येष समागमः कुतः ॥ ४५ ॥
सत्यं मनोरमाः कामाः सत्यं रम्या विभूतयः ।
किं तु मत्ताङ्गनापाङ्गभङ्गलोलं हि जीवितम् ॥ ४६ ॥

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43. CR 4.8. Also CPS 85.6. Cf. RN(P) 110.
(*a*) रा° कु° ध° tr. CRC, CRBh I, CRP, CPS.

44. CR 4.10. Also CPS 86.8.
Also in GP 1.111.16.
(*a*) असमर्था हि कुर्वन्ति CRP; अशनार्थं CRC, CPS; असमर्थाश्च कु° GP, GPy.
(*b*) द्रव्यसंचयम् GP, GPy; °संग्रहम् CRC, CRBh I, CRP, CRCa I, CPS.
(*c*) किं पुनस्तु महीपालः GP, GPy.
(*d*) पुत्रवत् पालयेत् (°यन् GP) प्र° GP, GPy.

45. CR "G". Also CPS 105.11. Cf. DhN(P) 215.
Viyoginī metre.

46. CR "H". Also CvH 8.17, CNT IV 173, CPS 105.62. Also in GP 1.111.9, BhŚ 776, SRBh 372.160, SV 3266, SRHt 264.30, Vyāsa *ad Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra 18

ऐश्वर्यमध्रुवं प्राप्य ध्रुवधर्मे मतिं कुरु ।
क्षणादेव विनाशिन्यः सम्पदोऽप्यात्मना सह ॥ ४७ ॥
सन्धौ विरोधे दाने च यशःस्वात्मसुखोदये ।
अपि मोक्षपरिप्राप्तावर्थो बन्धुर्महीभुजः ॥ ४८ ॥
यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः ।
यस्यार्थाः स पुमान् लोके यस्यार्थाः स हि पण्डितः ॥४९॥

(KM, pt. I, p. 132), Amd 483, Dhv *ad* 3.30, *Kāvyānuśāsana* 180, Kpr 333, KāP 269, SkV 1608. Cf. Vyās (C) 15, IS 6733, Subh 79.

(*a*) °रमः कायः CRC, CRB; °रमा रामाः Vyāsa, SRBh; कान्ताः SRHt.
(*c*) वै वनितापाङ्ग° GP, GPy.
(*d*) °भङ्गी° GP, GPy.

47. CR "I". Also CPS 106.64.
Also in GP 1.111.8.

(*b*) ध्रुवं ध° CRB; ध्रुवे ध° CRC, CPS; राजा धर्मे मतिं चरेत् GP, GPy.
(*c*) क्षणेन विभवो नश्येत् GP, GPy.
(*d*) नात्मायत्तं धनादिकम् GP, GPy; ह्यु [°प्यु] CRBh II.

48. CRC 4.10. Also CPS 86.9.

49. CR 4.12, CV 7.15, Cv 6.8. Also CNP I 51, CNP II 76, CNI I 67, CNG 238, CNT IV 50, CnT II 10.11, CnT III 7.21, CnT V 35, CnT I 19, CPS 172.103.

Also in MBh 12.8.19, R 6.83.35, PS 2.31, PN 1.28, PTem 2.52, Pts 1.3, PRE 2.31, HJ 1.134, HS 1.118, HM 1.124, HP 1.95, HN 1.96, HK 1.127, HH 25.24-5, HC 35.3-4, VCsr 12.5, Śts 25.11-26.1, Śto 325.34-5, GP 1.111.17 (cf. KṣB 16.422), SRBh 65.6, SuM 4.3, SRK 44.7, IS 5409, ŚKDr *ad* मित्र, SV 2816, Subh 185. Also found in NM(T) 6.7; also see LN(P) 167, NKy(B) 211.

यस्यास्ति वित्तं स नरः कुलीनः
स पण्डितः स श्रुतवान् गुणज्ञः ।
स एव वक्ता स च दर्शनीयः
सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ति ॥ ५० ॥
धनं जातिर्धनं रूपं धनं विद्या धनं यशः ।
किं धनेन विहीनानां याच्ञानिर्जीवितैर्गुणैः ॥ ५१ ॥

(*a*) °र्थस् CRBh I, CRBh II, FHE in PS, VC, Śto.
(*b*) °र्थस् CRBh I, CRBh II, FHE in PS, VC, Śto; हि स्त्रियः CvGt 6.13; चाङ्गना [बा°] CvGt 6.9; बान्धवः CvLd.
(*c*) यस्यार्थास्तस्य माङ्गल्यं CvGt 6.13; अर्थः CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CvTb, CvP IV, CvGt 6.9, CRCa I, CVB_2, CNP I, CNP II, FHE in PS, VC, Śto.
(*d*) °र्थः CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II, CRCa I, CNP I, CNP II, FHE in PS, VC, MM_1 in Śto; सोऽपि CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CRCa I; च [हि] CRCa I, CPS, CV, Cv, GP, SV; तु [हि] HJ; बहुश्रुतः CNI I; जीवति [प°] CV, Cv.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

50. CRBh II 4.12.

Also in BhŚ 51, VCsr 12.7, Śto 326.1-2, Vet 19 (p. 187), ŚP 333, SRBh 64.9, SRK 44.6, SuM 4.12, IS 5414, TP 452, Subh 32, Pras 21.4, SA 114.3, ST 41.7, Pad 111.41, VS 306, SHV fo. 67a & 82a, SS 39.1, SK 2.169, VS 5.1, SM 1155, SSD 2 fo. 105a, SSV 1141, SMV 4.12.

(*b*) श्रुतिमान् BhŚ (v.l.); विनीतः [गु°] BhŚ (v.l.); विधिज्ञः T in VC; अभिज्ञः Q in VC.
(*c*) पूज्यः [व°] CRBh II; वेत्ता IS.
(*d*) जनाः [गु°] BhŚ (v.l.), RB in Śto, TN in VC; आहरन्ति Y_7 in BhŚ; °यन्ते BhŚ (v.l.).

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

51. CRC 4.13. Also CPS 91.25.

रूपं वश्यैर्बलं भृत्यैरुत्तमं मानमर्थिभिः ।
महाकुलविवाहैश्च कुलं क्रीणाति वित्तवान् ॥ ५२ ॥

वित्तायत्ताः सदा धर्मा वित्तं कामनिबन्धनम् ।
वित्तायत्तानि सर्वाणि वित्तं जीवितवर्धनम् ॥ ५३ ॥

धनं रूपमवैकल्यं धनं कुलं सुमङ्गलम् ।
धनं यौवनमम्लानं धनमायुर्निरामयम् ॥ ५४ ॥

गुणा धनेन लभ्यन्ते न धनं लभ्यते गुणैः ।
धनी गुणवतां सेव्यो न गुणी धनिनां क्वचित् ॥ ५५ ॥

वृद्धः प्रसिद्धो विबुधो विदग्धः
शूरः श्रुतिज्ञः कवयः कुलीनाः ।
विलोकयन्तः सधनस्य वक्त्रं
जयेति जीवेति सदा वदन्ति ॥ ५६ ॥

स्वगृहेऽपि दरिद्राणां विचक्रुः कचकर्कशम् ।
धनिनां परलोकेऽपि प्रेम्णः स्निग्धजना भुवः ॥ ५७ ॥

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52. CRC 4.15. Also CPS 92.27.

53. CRC 4.16. Also CPS 92.28.
(*c*) वित्तानि [स°] CRC.

54. CRC 4.17. Also CPS 93.29.

55. CRC 4.18. Also CPS 93.30.

56. CRC 4.20. Also CPS 94.32.
Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

57. CRC 4.22. Also CPS 94.34.

कुत आरभ्य घटते विघट्य क्वापि गच्छति ।
गतिर्न शक्यते ज्ञातुं धनस्य च घनस्य च ॥ ५८ ॥

* * *

धनिनः सुखिनो नित्यं निर्धना दुःखभागिनः ।
धनिनां निर्धनानां च विभागः सुखदुःखयोः ॥ ५९ ॥
अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य पुरुषस्याल्पमेधसः ।
विच्छिद्यन्ते क्रियाः सर्वा ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥ ६० ॥

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58. CRC 4.24. Also CPS 95.36.
Also in SRBh 64.5, SRK 45.17.

(*a*) आगत्य [आ°] SRBh, SRK.
(*b*) क्व नु याति च SRBh, SRK.
(*c*) लक्ष्यते न गतिश्चित्रा (°तिः सम्यक् SRK) SRBh, SRK.
(*d*) घ° च ध° tr. SRBh.

59. CRC 4.25. Also CPS 95.37.

60. Cv 6.10, CR 4.13. Also CPS 92.26.

Also in MBh 12.8.18, R 6.83.33 & 6.62.29, PS 2.30, PN 1.27, PTem 2.53, PP 2.71, Pts 2.85, PRE 2.37, HJ 1.133, HS 1.117, HM 1.123, HP 1.94, HN 1.95, HK 1.126, HH 25.22-3, HC 35.1-2, SRBh 65.7, IS 617. (Cf. MBh 12.8.16.)

(*a*) अर्थेनेह MBh; नरस्यार्थ° CvṢ, CvA, CvL I; तु[हि] S in HS, HK, PP, SRBh; च [हि] Pts; परिहीनस्य HS, HH; विमुक्तस्य R (6.62.29).
(*b*) दुःखितस्या° CvṢ, CvL I; °ल्पचेतसः R (6.62.29).
(*c*) क्रियाः सर्वा विनश्यन्ति R (6.83.33), H, SRBh; उच्छिद्यन्ते CvL I, PP, Pts; प्रच्छिद्यन्ते IS; नश्यन्ति प्रक्रि° CvṢ; स्त्रियः [क्रि°] CRBh II.
(*d*) तु सरि° CvTb.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh or R.

त्यजन्ति मित्राणि धनैर्विहीनं
पुत्राश्च दाराश्च सुहृज्जनाश्च ।
तमर्थवन्तं पुनराश्रयन्ते-
ऽप्यर्थो हि लोके पुरुषस्य बन्धुः ॥ ६१ ॥
यत्रोदकं तत्र चरन्ति हंसा-
स्तदेव शुष्कं परिवर्जयन्ति ।
प्राप्ते जले तत् पुनराश्रयन्ते
न हंसमित्रेण नरेण भाव्यम् ॥ ६२ ॥

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61. CR 4.14, CV 15.5, Cv 6.9. Also CnT I 44, CPS 307.2.

Also in GP 1.111.18, SRBh 64.10, SuM 4.13, SRK 44.15, IS 2622. (Cf. PRE 2.33, PT 2.54, PP 2.106). Also see LN(P) 8, DhN(P) 75, NKy(B) 111, NM(T) 6.8.

(*a*) धनेन हीनं CvGt; विहीनान् CvṢ, CvA.
(*b*) दा° पु° tr. Cv; पुत्राश्च दाराः स्वजनोऽपि (°नाश्च CvGt) बन्धुः CvTb, CvGt; जनश्च CRB, CRBh I, CRBh II.
(*c*) ते (तम् $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CVLd, CPS) चार्थ° CV, GP; पुरुषं [पु°] CVP; °यन्ति Cv (CvA, CvW, CvL I as above), GP, SRBh.
(*d*) ऽप्य् om. CRBh II, CV, Cv, GP; ह्य् [ऽप्य्] CVAh, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVB_1, CVB_2, CVK_1, CVG, CVLd, SRBh; धनं हि लोके पुरुषस्य सर्वम् CvGt; परमश्च ब° CvTb.

Upendravajrā and Indravajrā metre.

62. CR 4.15, CV 7.13 *ab/dc*, Cv 6.6. Also CNŚK 74, CnT II 8.9, CnT III 6.5, CnT VI 95, CPS 299.86.

Also in SRBh 388.44, IS 5085. (Cf. SuM 4.7.) Also found in NM(T) 4.17.

(*a*) वसन्ति [च] CV, Cv (भवन्ति CvL II; पतन्ति CvP IV, CvGt, CvL I), SRBh.

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते
निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ।
केनापि नूनं कविना न दृष्टं
दारिद्र्यमेकं गुणराशिनाशि ॥ ६३ ॥
चण्डालश्च दरिद्रश्च द्वाविमौ तुलया धृतौ ।
एकः स्वबन्धुभिः स्पृष्टस्तैरपि त्यज्यतेऽपरः ॥ ६४ ॥
पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ।
मालाकार इवारामे न यथाङ्गारकारकः ॥ ६५ ॥

(*b*) तथैव CV, Cv (CvLd as above), SRBh.

(*c*) पूर्णं सरस्तत् पुनराश्रयन्ति Cv (ते समुपाश्रयन्ति CvGt; °यन्ते CvW, CvL I), CNŚK, CRC, CVB_2; °यन्तः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CVLd, CPS; पुनस्त्यजन्ते पु° CV, SRBh.

(*d*) हंसतुल्येन नरेण भा° CV, SRBh.

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

63. CRC 4.23. Also CPS 95.35.

Also in GN 17, *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.3 *cd*=*ab*, SRBh 66.43, SV 3439, IS 1441.

(*b*) °तीन्दोरिति यो बभाषे GN, SRBh, IS.

(*c*) नूनं न (न तेन SRBh) दृष्टं (°ष्टः IS). कविनापि तेन (समस्तं SRBh) GN, SRBh, IS.

(*d*) दारिद्र्यदोषो GN, IS; गुणकोटिहारि SRBh; °नाशी IS, GN.

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

64. CRC 4.29, CRB 4.19, CRBh II 4.17. Also CPS 96.39.

(*b*) द्वावेतौ CRC.

(*c*) स्पृश्यस् CRC.

65. CR 4.3, CS 2.17. Also CPS 84.2.

Also in MBh 5.33.17, GP 1.111.3, SRBh 388.449, SRHt 181.2, IS 4152. (Cf. MBh. 12.71.20.) Also found in ShD(T) 8. Cf. RN(P) 93.

दुग्ध्वा हि भुज्यते क्षीरं गां विक्रीय न भुज्यते ।
तद्वद् दुग्धप्रयोगेण भोग्यं राष्ट्रं महीभुजा ॥ ६६ ॥
ऊर्ध्वं न क्षीरविच्छेदात् पयो धेनोरवाप्यते ।
एवं राष्ट्रादयोगेन पीडितान्नाप्यते बलिः ॥ ६७ ॥
यथा क्रमेण गृह्णाति पुष्पेभ्यो मधु षट्पदः ।
तथा वित्तमुपादाय राजा कुर्वीत संचयम् ॥ ६८ ॥

(*a*) पुष्पे पु° CRBh II; पुष्पात् पु° GP; विचिनुयात् GPy; विचिन्वीयात् GP; विचिन्वन्ति CS.
(*c*) °कारा CSB II; °रामं CRBh II; °रण्ये GP.
(*d*) यथा जानाति सारताम् CS.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

66. CR 4.4. Also CPS 84.3.
Also compare GP 1.111.4.

(*b*) निहत्य [वि°] CRT.
(*c*) तत् तद् CRP; दुग्ध्वा CRCa I; संज्ञाप्र° CRT; प्रयत्नेन CPS.
(*d*) महीभृता CRCa I.

67. CR 4.5.
Also in GP 1.111.5.

(*a*) नौधश्छिन्द्यात् (नोधश्छि° GP, GPy) तु यो धेन्वाः CRT, GP, GPy.
(*b*) क्षीरार्थी लभते पयः CRT, GP, GPy.
(*c*) राष्ट्रं प्रयो° CRT, GP, GPy.
(*d*) पीड्यमानं न वर्धयेत् (वर्जयेत् GP) CRT, GP, GPy; फलम् [ब°] CRBh II.

68. CR 5.37. Also CPS 122.38.
Also in GP 1.113.6, SRHt 112.2. Also see SRN (T) 324.

(*a*) गृह्णन्ति CRC, CPS; पुष्पेभ्यश् [गृ°] GP, GPy, SRHt.
(*b*) चिनुते [पु°] GP, GPy; चिनोति SRHt; संगतिः CRP; °पदाः CRC, CRBh II, CPS.
(*c*) तथा द्र° (rest missing) SRHt; धनम् [वि°] CRBh II.

मधुवत् कथितं राष्ट्रं न हन्तव्याश्च मधुपाः ।
वत्सापेक्षी दुहेच्चैव राजा भूमिं च पालयेत् ॥ ६९ ॥
वल्मीकं मधुजालं च शुक्लपक्षे च चन्द्रमाः ।
राजद्रव्यं च भैक्षं च स्तोकं स्तोकेन वर्धते ॥ ७० ॥
मक्षिका व्रणमिच्छन्ति धनमिच्छन्ति पार्थिवाः ।
नीचाः कलहमिच्छन्ति शान्तिमिच्छन्ति साधवः ॥ ७१ ॥
तृप्येन्न राजा धनसंचयेन
न सागरो भूरिजलागमेन ।

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69. CRT 4.6.
Also in MBh 12.88.4, IS 4678. Cf. R 6.16.17.

(*a*) मधुदोहं दुहेद् MBh, IS.
(*b*) भ्रमरा इव पादपम् MBh, IS.
(*d*) स्तनांश्च न विकुट्टयेत् MBh, IS.

70. CR 5.38, Cv 6.13. Also CNG 85, CnT II 9.1, CnT III 6.9, CnT VI 99, CPS 122.39.

Also in GP 1.113.7, CM 147. Also found in ShD(T) 29. Also see DhN(P) 180, SN(P) 60, SRN(T) 323.

(*a*) मधुकालश्च CNG.
(*b*) तु [च] GP.
(*c*) भिक्षाद्रव्यं नृपद्रव्यं CR, CPS; भक्ष्यं CvA; भैक्ष्यं CvW, CvTb, GP; भोग्यं CvP IV.
(*d*) स्तोके CvṢ, CvP V; स्तोकं च CRP.

71. CS 3.15, CL "F". Also CNG 314.

Also in SRBh 167.637, SRHt 239.38, IS 4651. Also found in NŚ(OJ) 3.11.

(*d*) मानं हि महतां धनम् CSB I.

72. CR 2.50. Also CPS 49.61.

Also in GP 1.109.42. Also see Ślt(OJ) 62, ShD(T) 111, SRN(T) 29, LN(P) 35, DhN(P) 352.

न पण्डितः साधुसुभाषितेन
तृप्येन्न चक्षुः प्रियदर्शनेन ॥ ७२ ॥
ब्रह्मस्वेन च पुष्टाङ्गा हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तयः ।
संग्रामकाले सीदन्ति राज्ञो ब्रह्मस्वभक्षणात् ॥ ७३ ॥
मणिः शाणोल्लीढः समरविजयी हेतिदलितो
मदक्षीणो नागः शरदि सरिदाश्यानपुलिना ।
कलाशेषश्चन्द्रः सुरतमृदिता बालवनिता
तनिम्ना शोभन्ते गलितविभवाश्चार्थिषु नृपाः ॥ ७४ ॥

(*a*) राजा न तृप्तो GP, GPy.
(*b*) सागरस्तृप्तिमगाज्जलेन GP, GPy; भूमिज° CRBh II, CRC, CRT.
(*c*) पण्डितस्तृप्यति भा° GP, GPy; °सुभाषणेन CRBh II, CRCa I.
(*d*) तृप्तं न चक्षुर्नृपद° GP, GPy.

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

73. CL 6.2.
Also in CM 119.

(*a*) हि [च] CLB, CLT, CLI.
(*b*) हस्तिवाजिपदातयः CLTb; गजाश्व° CLL I.
(*c*) सीदन्ते CLL I.
(*d*) राजा CLP IV, CLP V, CLLd; राजन् CLH; सैकताः सेतवो यथा CLL I.

74. CRC 8.130. Also CPS 326.24.

Also in BhŚ 11, ŚP 1529, SRBh 177.983, SV 3457, SRHt 216.12, IS 4657, Kvn *ad* 48, Subh 303, SRH 170.12, SHV app. I, fo. 10a, 48.

(*a*) हेतिनिहतो BhŚ, SV, SRBh, ŚP.
(*b*) सरितः श्यानपुलिनाः BhŚ, SRBh, IS; सरिदासानुपुलिना CRC, CPS; क्षामपुलिनाः, श्यामपुलिनाः BhŚ (v.l.).
(*c*) कलालेशश् BhŚ (v.l.); सुरतमुदिता BhŚ (v.l.); °मृदुला CPS; बालवनितास् BhŚ (v.l.); बाललला (°नास् B_1 in BhŚ) CRC, CPS, BhŚ (v.l.); वारवनिता BhŚ (v.l.).

Respect for Knowledge and Learning

विद्या नाम नरस्य रूपमधिकं प्रच्छन्नगुप्तं धनं
विद्या भोगकरी यशःसुखकरी विद्या गुरूणां गुरुः ।
विद्या बन्धुजनो विदेशगमने विद्याक्षयं सम्बलं
विद्या राजसु पूज्यते न हि धनं विद्याविहीनः पशुः ॥७५॥

पठ पुत्र किमालस्यमपाठो भारवाहकः ।
पठंस्तु पूजितो राज्ञा पठ पुत्र दिने दिने ॥ ७६ ॥

(*d*) राजन्ते [शो°] BhŚ (v.l.); व्ययितविभवाश् CRC, CPS, C in BhŚ; जनाः BhŚ (v.l.); नरः J_1 in BhŚ; व्ययितविभवश्चार्थिषु नृपः J_3 in BhŚ.

Śikhariṇī metre.

75. CRC 2.36, CRP 2.31, CRBh II 2.31, CNI I 13 *a* . . . / *cd* (*b* different), CNF 105 *ac* / (*b*)*d*. Also CPS 35.30.

Also in BhŚ 70, VCsr 9.3, VCjr 21.1; (cf. HH 6.1-4), *Sūktāvalī* 4, GR 3, SRBh 30.15, SuM 11.3, SuB 39.10, SRK 42.1, Pras 19.4, IS 6089, Subh 8, SA 7.9, SHV fo. 36b, SS 14.5, SK 6.114, SN 692, SSD 2. fo. 110a, SSV 749, SMV 11.3, JSV 67.2, SKG fo. 12a.

(*a*) प्रच्छन्नमन्तर् CRBh II, V in VCsr, O in VCjr.

(*b*) भाग्य° [भो°] X in BhŚ; °शुभकरी [°सु°] CRC, CPS, GR.

(*c*) बन्धुजनः सुदेश° Ś in VCjr; विद्या बन्धुरसौ CNF; विद्या परं (परा VCsr, Pras, BhŚ [v.l.]) दैवतं (भूषणं R in VCjr; देवता BhŚ, VCsr, Pras, F in VCjr; भैषजं Ś in VCjr) [वि° °लं] CRBh II, CNI I, BhŚ, VCsr, VCjr, GR, SRBh, SRK.

(*d*) पूजिता CRBh II, BhŚ, VCjr [HOt as above], TNd in VCsr, Pras; प्रतिदिनं D in BhŚ, O in VCjr; च सततं BhŚ (v.l.); तु [हि] VCjr, Y_1 in BhŚ; बहुधनो CRC, MND in VCsr.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

76. CS 1.25. Also CNP II 184, CNT IV 162, CNM 159, CNMN 125.

पठ पुत्र सदा नित्यमक्षरं हृदये कुरु ।
स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा विद्या सर्वत्र पूज्यते ॥ ७७ ॥
विद्वत्त्वं च नृपत्वं च नैव तुल्यं कदाचन ।
स्वदेशे पूज्यते राजा विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते ॥ ७८ ॥
जात्यन्धोऽपि वरं राजा न तु शास्त्रविवर्जितः ।
अन्धः पश्यति चारेण शास्त्रहीनो न पश्यति ॥ ७९ ॥

Also in Vet 1 (p. 193), IS 7583, CKl 31. Also see LN(P) 17, DhN(P) 16.

(*b*) अपठन् IS.

(*c*) पाठितः IS; पठिते CNP II; पाठतः CSLd; संपूज्यते CSBD; पूज्यते CSLd, CNP II; लोके [रा°] CNP II.

77. CNW 92, CNF 22, CNL 38. Also CnT II 11.2, CnT III 7.24, CnT V 40, CnT I 22.

Also in IS 3873.

78. CL 6.9, CN 1, CS 1.46. Also CnT II 10.12 & 30.4. CnT III 7.22, CnT V 38, CnT I 20, CnT VII 91, CPS 37.32.

Also in Pts 2.52, PtsK 2.56 & 129, VCjr 9.4 (see 'Über die Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā' in Weber's *Indische Studien* 15.337, ninth tale, verse 113), BhŚ 743, Pras 8.7, SRK 32.6, SRBh 38.7, SV 3426, IS 6109, Sskr 53, SRHt 26.1 (MBh?). Also found in DhN(P) 31, ShD(T) 135 & 227, Vyās(C) 158. Also see SRN(T) 43.

(*a*) विद्वांश्चैव नृपश्चैव CS, CNW; विद्याबलं च नृपतिं IS.

(*b*) न हि तुल्यपराक्रमः (मौ°) CS; न हि [नै°] CNI I; नैतत् O in VCjr.

(*c*) पूजितो CSJ, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, BhŚ.

(*d*) विद्या CSLd, CSJ, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II.

79. CR 4.21. Also CPS 89.12.

(*a*) हि [ऽपि] CRC, CPS.

एकं हन्यान्न वा हन्यादिषुर्मुक्तो धनुष्मता ।
बुद्धिर्बुद्धिमतोत्सृष्टा हन्याद् राष्ट्रं सराजकम् ॥ ८० ॥

Other Duties

गान्धर्वं नृत्तमालेख्यं वाद्यं च गणितं कलाः ।
अर्थशास्त्रं धनुर्वेदं यत्नाद् रक्षेन्महीपतिः ॥ ८१ ॥
मनस्तापं न कुर्वीत विपदं प्राप्य पार्थिवः ।
आत्मनश्चोदयं शंसेन्न स्याद् दुःखी न वा सुखी ॥ ८२ ॥

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80. CRC 4.53, CRB 4.43, CRBh II 4.37, CNI I 200. Also CPS 108.70.

Also in MBh 5.32.47, PRE 3.105, PT 3.123, PS 3.73, PN 3.63, Pts 1.206, PtsK 1.219, Śts 101.8-9, ŚP 1355, SRBh 146.146, SRHt 104.1, IS 1350. (Cf. MBh 5.32.49, Nītiyukti in *Yuktikalpataru* in ŚKDr *ad* मन्त्रणा.)

(*b*) धनुष्मतां CC_1 in Śts.
(*c*) सराष्ट्रं सप्रजं हन्ति Śts; बुद्धिमता क्षिप्ता IS; बुद्धिमता युक्ता SRBh.
(*d*) राजानं मन्त्रिनिश्चयः Śts; हन्ति PtsK, SRBh, ŚP; नृपं हन्ति सराष्ट्रकम् IS; सनायकम् PtsK, SRBh.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

81. CR 4.22. Also CPS 91.23. Cf. GP 1.111.26.

(*a*) नृत्यम् CRT.
(*c*) अस्त्रशास्त्रं CRBh II.

82. CR 4.17. Also CPS 87.12.
Also in GP 1.111.23.

(*b*) आपदं GP, GPy; मानवः CRB, CRBh II.
(*c*) समबुद्धिः प्रसन्नात्मा GP, GPy; आत्मनो नोदयं CRBh II, CRCa I; शंसन्न CRC.
(*d*) सुखदुःखे समो भवेत् GP, GPy.

धीराः कृच्छ्रमपि प्राप्ता न भवन्ति विषादिनः ।
प्रविश्य वदनं राहोः किं नोदेति पुनः शशी ॥ ८३ ॥

प्राज्ञः स्निग्धो महीपालश्छिद्रकर्मविवर्जितः ।
विदूरे च परित्यागी समं दुःखं समं सुखम् ॥ ८४ ॥

चापलाद् वारयेद् दृष्टिं मिथ्यावाक्यं च वारयेत् ।
मानवे श्रोत्रिये चैव भृत्यवर्गे सदैव हि ॥ ८५ ॥

वित्तेन रक्ष्यते धर्मो विद्या योगेन रक्ष्यते ।
मृदुना रक्ष्यते भूपः सत्स्त्रिया रक्ष्यते गृहम् ॥ ८६ ॥

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83. CR 4.18. Also CPS 87.13.
Also in GP 1.111.24, SuM 28.2.

(*a*) कष्टमनुप्राप्ता (प्राप्य CRCa II, GP; प्राप्त्वा GPy) CRT, CRCa II, GP, GPy; प्राप्य CRC, CRBh II, CPS.
(*b*) न भ° tr. CRBh II.

84. CS 1.53.
Also in CKl 35.

(*a*) प्राज्ञे CSLd, CSC II, CSJ, CSB II.
(*b*) क्षुद्र° CSB I, CKl.

85. CRT 4.12.
Also in GP 1.111.28.

(*b*) न चाब्रवीत् CRT.
(*d*) सुखायते [स] CRT.

86. CV 5.9. Also CNP I 32, CNP II 236, CNT IV 31, CNM 31, CNMN 31, CNŚ 82, CNŚC 82, CNSl 82, CRT 6.10, CRCa II 26, CnT II 16.12, CPS 121.37.
Also in GP 1.113.10, IS 6074. (Cf. MBh 5.33.38)

(*a*) सत्येन CRT, CRCa II, GP; रक्षते CNM; रक्षति CRCa II; धर्मं CRCa II, CNM, CNMN.
(*c*) मृजया GP; रूपं CNP II, CRT, CRCa II; पात्रं GP.
(*d*) कुलं शीलेन रक्ष्यते (°क्षति CRCa II; °क्षते CNM) CNP I, CNP II, CNM, CNMN, CRT, CRCa II, GP.

विषं चङ्क्रमणं रात्रौ विषं राज्ञोऽनुकूलता ।
विषं स्त्रियोऽप्यन्यहृदो विषं व्याधिरवीक्षितः ॥ ८७ ॥
सद्भिरासीत सततं सद्भिः कुर्वीत संगतिम् ।
सद्भिर्विवादं मैत्रीं च नासद्भिः किंचिदाचरेत् ॥ ८८ ॥
पण्डितैश्च विनीतैश्च धर्मज्ञैः सत्यवादिभिः ।
बन्धनेऽपि वसेत् सार्धं न तु राज्ये खलैः सह ॥ ८९ ॥
एकं चक्षुर्विवेको हि द्वितीयं सत्समागमः ।
तौ न स्तो यस्य स क्षिप्रं मोहकूपे पतेद् ध्रुवम् ॥ ९० ॥

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87. CN 95.
Also in ŚKDr *ad* विष, SRBh 162.422, IS 6213.

(*a*) संक्र° CNŚIV.
(*c*) स्त्रियोऽन्यरता (ऽन्यहृदो CNS) CNTC, CNR, CNS; अन्यरता CNŚJ, CNNA, CNSS, CNŚIC, CNŚCV, CNŚIV.
(*d*) उपेक्षितः [अ°] IS.

88. CR 5.34. Also CPS 120.33.
Also in GP 1.113.2, ŚP 1422, SRBh 153.3, SRHt 34.1, Pras 20.7, IS 6769. Also found in SS(OJ) 311.

(*a*) एव सहासीत [आ°] ŚP, SRBh, SRHt, Pras.
(*b*) संगमम् SRHt, Pras.
(*c*) विवादो मैत्रं CRBh II, SRHt; विवाहमन्त्रं Pras.
(*d*) आहरेत् CR.

89. CR 5.35. Also CnT II 26.17, CnT VII 49, CPS 120.34.
Also in GP 1.113.3.

(*c*) बन्धनस्थोऽपि तिष्ठेत GP, GPy; बन्धने नि° CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II.
(*d*) राज्यं CRCa I, GPy (GP as above).

90. CR "F". Also CPS 88.17.

(*c*) न स्तस्तौ यस्य स CRP, CRBh I.

अरिं मित्रमुदासीनं मध्यस्थं स्थविरं गुरुम् ।
यो न बुध्यति मन्दात्मा स च सर्वत्र नश्यति ॥ ९१ ॥
भ्रमन् संपूज्यते राजा भ्रमन् संपूज्यते द्विजः ।
भ्रमन् संपूज्यते योगी स्त्री भ्रमन्ती विनश्यति ॥ ९२ ॥
अविनीतो भृत्यजनो
नृपतिरदाता शठानि मित्राणि ।
अविनयवती च भार्या
मस्तकशूलानि चत्वारि ॥ ९३ ॥

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91. CS 2.18. Also CNF 29, CNPh 60.
Also in IS 7453.

(*a*) अरि° CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CNPh, CSJ.
(*b*) मध्यस्थ° CSB I, CSC II, CSJ, CSB II.
(*c*) पश्यति [बु°] CNF.
(*d*) स न पश्यति सर्वदा CNF; हन्यते [न°] CNPh.

92. CV 6.4. Also CNP I 49, CNP II 74, CNT IV 48, CNM 48, CNMN 46, CPS 170.99.

Also in SRBh 159.281, IS 4641, Subh 120.

(*a*) भ्रमत् SRBh; चक्रं [रा°] SRBh.
(*d*) स्त्री भ्र° tr. $CVBn_1$.

93. CNG 328, CNP II 163.
Also in Vet 4.16, IS 691, Subh 301, SuM 10.15.

(*a*) अवनीतो a in Vet.
(*c*) विनयविहीना D in Vet.

Āryā metre.

लीलासुखानि भोग्यानि त्यजेदिह महीपतिः ।
सुखप्रवृत्ताः साध्यन्ते शात्रवैर्विग्रहे स्थितैः ॥ ९४ ॥
अक्षेषु मृगयायां च स्त्रीषु पाने वृथाटने ।
निद्रायां च निबन्धेन क्षिप्रं नश्यति भूपतिः ॥ ९५ ॥
लङ्घयेच्छास्त्रमर्यादां हेतुवादेन यो नरः ।
स नश्यति पुनः क्षिप्रमिह लोके परत्र च ॥ ९६ ॥
लीलां करोति यो राजा भृत्यवित्तैश्च गर्वितः ।
संवादे विग्रहे क्षिप्रं रिपुभिः परिभूयते ॥ ९७ ॥
असंतुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः संतुष्टाश्च महीभृतः ।
सलज्जा गणिका नष्टा निर्लज्जाश्च कुलाङ्गनाः ॥ ९८ ॥

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94. CRT 4.15.
Also in GP 1.111.31.

95. CR 4.20. Also CPS 88.16.
Also see RN(P) 66.

(*d*) सक्तो CRP, CRCa 1; भूमिपः CRBh I, CRP.

96. CR 4.19. Also CPS 88.15.
Also in GP 1.111.22.

(*a*) °छास्त्रयुक्तानि GP, GPy.
(*b*) हेतुयुक्तानि यानि च GP, GPy.
(*c*) स हि नश्यति वै राजा GP, GPy.

97. CRT 4.13.
Also in GP 1.111.29.

(*b*) भृत्यस्वजनगर्वितः GP.
(*c*) शासने सर्वदा GP.

98. CV 8.18, CL 4.3, CN 78, CR 8.130. Also CSLd 3.80, CnT II 10.9, CnT III 7.18, CnT V 34, CnT I 17, CPS 261.109.
Also in PKS 10 (ZDMG 64.62), HJ 3.67, HS 3.64, HM 3.64, HP 3.62, HN 3.62, HK 3.64, HH 85.5-6, HC 113.5-6,

Governing the Kingdom

अग्निर्दहति तापेन सूर्यो दहति रश्मिभिः ।
राजा दहति दण्डेन तपसा ब्राह्मणो दहेत् ॥ ९९ ॥
सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः ।
दण्डस्य हि भयात् सर्वं जगद् भोगाय कल्पते ॥ १०० ॥

SRBh 162.411, SRHt 236.2, IS 755, VP 9.63. Also found in LN(P) 117; (cf. DhN(P) 353), NKy(B) 145, TK(OJ) 28, NŚ(OJ) 4.24, Vyās(C) 52. Cf. *Samayamātṛkā* 4.68, 4.70.

(*a*) असंतुष्टो द्विजो नष्टः CNN, PKS, SRHt.

(*b*) संतुष्टाश्चैव पार्थिवाः PKS; पार्थिवाः सदा (तथा CNS, HN, HP) CN, H; संतोषेण CLTb, CLH, CLP IV, CLP V, CLA, CLL I; संतुष्टश्च महीपतिः CNPh, CRBh II, CNG; संतुष्टः क्षत्रियस्तथा SRHt; संतुष्टः पृथिवीपतिः CNN, CR; महीभुजः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, SRBh.

(*d*) निर्लज्जा च कुलाङ्गना HJ, SRHt, CN, CPS, PKS; निर्लज्जाः सुकुला° CNW; कुलस्त्रियः CLB, CLT, CLP IV, CLP V, CLP II, CR, HS, HP, HN, HK, HH, SRBh; कुलयोषितः CNL.

99. CS 3.89.
Also in IS 7429; (cf. MBh 5.33.74, Ślt(OJ) 57).

100. CVNS 16.22.
Also in Mn 7.22, MBh 12.15.34, BrDh 2.11.4, VīrR 286.2-3 & 292.22-3, RRK 63.13-4, Viv 168.10-1, IS 6958.

(*a*) लोके MBh.

(*b*) नरः शुचिः Viv; जनः MBh.

(*c*) भयाद् भीतो MBh.

(*d*) भोगायैव प्रवर्तते MBh.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from Mn. (Cf. CStMn No. 20.)

अविद्यः पुरुषः शोच्यः शोच्यं मैथुनमप्रजम् ।
निराहाराः प्रजाः शोच्याः शोच्यं राज्यमराजकम् ॥ १०१॥
धन्यास्ते ये न पश्यन्ति देशभङ्गं कुलक्षयम् ।
परचित्तगतां नारीं पुत्रं च व्यसने स्थितम् ॥ १०२ ॥
पुनर्वित्तं पुनर्मित्रं पुनर्भार्या पुनर्मही ।
एतत् सर्वं पुनर्लभ्यं न शरीरं पुनः पुनः ॥ १०३ ॥

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101. CN 55.

Also in MBh 5.38.77*cd*-78*ab*, SRBh 162.388, IS 684. Cf. Vet 11.12 & 21.193.

(*a*) अविद्य° CNŚJ, CNŚIC, CNŚIV, CNSS.
(*b*) भवनम° CNŚA.
(*d*) राष्ट्रम् [रा°] MBh.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

102. CR 8.3. Also CNG 157, CPS 223.10.

Also in GP 1.115.3, PP 2.43 & 5.58 *cd*/*ab*, PtsK 5.65, SRBh 66.29, SV 3173, IS 3084 (v.l.), Subh 208. Cf. Pts 5.78, 2.52 and 1.363.

(*a*) तात [ते ये] PP, Subh.
(*b*) देशध्वंसं CRT.
(*c*) परहस्तगतां CNG, PP, PtsK; °रतां CRC, CPS; °गतान् दारान् CRBh II, GP, GPy, SRBh, SV; भार्यां [ना°] CRB, CNG, PP, PtsK.
(*d*) मित्रं च विषमस्थितम् (चापदि संस्थितम् Subh, PP 2.43 [v.l.]) CNG, PP, PtsK, IS; मित्रमापदमागतम् Bh in PP 5.58; कुव्यसने GP, GPy; व्यसने रतम् C in SV; व्यसनातुरम् SRBh, SV.

103. CV 14.3. Also CNT IV 107, CNM 104, CnT II 1.7, CnT III 1.7, CnT VI 7, CnT V 6, CPS 332.2. Cf. CNP II 141.

Also in SRBh 387.409, IS 4126. Cf. VCsr 20.1, VCjr 20.2.

(*b*) दाराः [भा°] CVB_2.
(*c*) सर्वरत्नप्रधानं हि CNM.

पुनर्दाराः पुनर्वित्तं पुनर्मित्रं पुनः सुताः ।
पुनरत्र प्रधानत्वं न शरीरं पुनः पुनः ॥ १०४ ॥
अन्नहीनो दहेद् राष्ट्रं मन्त्रहीनश्च ऋत्विजः ।
यजमानं दानहीनो नास्ति यज्ञसमो रिपुः ॥ १०५ ॥
नास्ति भार्या कुतः शाला धनं नास्ति कुतः सुखम् ।
नास्ति भूमिः कुतः सस्यं नास्ति ग्रामः कुतः सीमा ॥ १०६ ॥

Essential Living Conditions in a Kingdom

धनिकः श्रोत्रियो राजा नदी वैद्यस्तु पञ्चमः ।
पञ्च यत्र न विद्यन्ते न तत्र दिवसं वसेत् ॥ १०७ ॥

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104. CNP II 141.

Also in VCsr 20.1, VCjr 20.2, CM 106. Cf. Śto 321.10-1, IS 4124, SRBh 385.339 (ascribed to Vṛddha Cāṇakya).

(*a*) जाया T in VCsr; मित्रं [वि°] RF in VCjr.
(*b*) पुनः क्षेत्रं VCsr, VCjr; तथैव च [पु° सु°] J in VCsr; सुतः VCjr, CM, Q in VCsr; पुनः [सु°] V in VCsr, Ś in VCjr; धनं RF in VCjr.
(*c*) शुभाशुभं कर्म VCsr; यागादिकं O in VCjr.
(*d*) श° न tr. VCsr, F in VCjr.

105. CV 8.22. Also CPS 268.14.

Also in IS 362.

106. CNPN 73, CNF 70.

Also in CM 94. Cf. TP 426.

(*c*) नास्ति ज्ञानं कुतो धर्मो CNF.

107. CV 1.9, Cv 1.10, CN 34, CR "B" *cd/ab*. Also CnT II 1.9, CnT III 1.9, CnT VI 9, CnT V 10. Cf. CR 3.22, CPS 20.55.

Also in HJ 1.110, HS 1.100, HP 1.78, HN 1.80, HH 22.13-4, GP 1.110.26, ŚP 1465, SRBh 153.34, IS 3861. Also found in LN(P) 113, DhN(P) 78, NKy(B) 141. Cf. MP 34.112-3, Vi 71.66.

पञ्च यत्र न विद्यन्ते न कुर्यात् तत्र संस्थितिम् ।
लोकयात्रा भयं लज्जा दाक्षिण्यं धर्मशीलता ॥ १०८ ॥
यस्मिन् देशे न संमानो न वृत्तिर्न च बान्धवाः ।
न च विद्यागमः कश्चित् तं देशं परिवर्जयेत् ॥ १०९ ॥

(*a*) धनिनः CN (but many individual texts as above), HS, HH, GP; दैवज्ञः CR; गणकः CVTb; प्रयोगी CvH, CvP IV, CvP V, CvLd.
(*b*) च [तु] CNŚL, CNŚA, CNŚI, CNŚIK, CR; पञ्चकः CvP V.
(*c*) एते [प°] CNŚM, CNŚK, CNW.
(*d*) वासं तत्र न कारयेत् CvH, IS; तत्र देशे न संवसेत् CR (न कुर्यात् तत्र संस्थितं CRBh II); न कुर्यात् तत्र संस्थितिम् (संगतिम् CvP IV, CvL II) HP, HN, GP, Cv; तत्र वासं न कारयेत् CN, HJ, HS, P in HP, HH; व्रजेत् CVP.

108. CR 3.22 CV. 1.10 *cd/ab*, Cv 1.11 *cd/ab*, CS 3.56 *cd/ab*. Also CNP I 95, CNPh 26, CNG 293, CNT IV 98, CNM 95, CNMN 70, CnT VI 12, CPS 20.55.

Also in HJ 1.111, HM 1.104, HK 1.106, HH 22.15-6, HC 30.10-1, GP 1.110.26, SRBh 163.453, IS 3862, NT 104, SRHt 111.5, Subh 124; (cf. Vi 71.66). Also see SRN(T) 330.

(*a*) यस्मिन् [य°] NT; वर्तन्ते HJ, HH, HC.
(*b*) तत्र वासं न कारयेत् CR, CNPh; तत्र दिवसं वसेत् CvP IV; तत्र कुर्यात् न CRBh II; तेन संगतम् NT; संस्तवम् CRBh I, CRP; संगतिम् Cv, CRT, CS, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVB_1, CVK, GP, CNP I, CNP II, CPS.
(*c*) राजा CSB I.
(*d*) त्यागशीलता CV, Cv, CS, CRT, IS; दानशीलता GP.

109. CV 1.8, Cv 1.9, CR 2.26, CN 35. Also CnT II 1.8, CnT III 1.8, CnT VI 8, CnT V 7, CPS 20.53.

Also in HJ 1.109, HS 1.99, HM 1.103, HP 1.77, HN 1.79, HK 1.105, HH 22.11-2, HC 30.8-9, GP 1.109.20, Śto 332.22-3, SRBh 155.88, IS 5352, Sskṛ 54, SRK 224.30. Also found in

अनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति बहुनायकाः ।
स्त्रीनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति शिशुनायकाः ॥ ११० ॥
अनायके न वस्तव्यं न वसेद् बहुनायके ।
स्त्रीनायके न वस्तव्यं न वसेद् बालनायके ॥ १११ ॥

LN(P) 114 (cf. 158), DhN(P) 79, NKy(B) 142. Also see SRN(T) 342.

(*a*) संमानं (°नः CPS) CvA, CvṢ, CvH, CvI, CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvL II, CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II, CRC, CPS, CNŚJ, CNŚB, CNŚCV, CNNS, CNNA, CNSS, CNŚIC, CNH, CNŚM, CNNSA, CNŚL, CNŚPK, CNL, CNI II, CNPh, CNM, CNMN.

(*b*) न च वृ° CNF; प्रीतिर् [वृ°] CR (CRT as above), CNŚJ, CNH, CNNS, CNŚM, CNŚK, CNNA, CNNSA, CNŚB, CNŚIV, CNSS, CNJV, CNŚIK, CNNSS, CNS, B in CNF; न मित्राणि न CNPh, P in HS; न मित्रं न च CNI II; बान्धवः CVA, CVBn₃, CNŚL, CNŚ, CNŚA, CNSR, CNŚT, CNŚIV, CNŚIB, CNNM.

(*c*) न चातिथ्यागमः IS; विद्यागमोऽप्यस्ति CVB, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh, CVG, CVP, CVLd, CRC, CRT, CPS; वित्तागमः CNPh; विद्यागमो यत्र CNM; °गमो वृत्तिस् IS, P in HS.

(*d*) वासं तत्र न कारयेत् (त° वा° न° tr. CRC, CRT) CVK, CVAh, CVB_1, CVB_2, CVG, CVP, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CvṢ, CvL I, CvL II, CvTb, CR, CPS; न तत्र दिवसं वसेत् CNM, SRBh, SRK; तत्र वासं न कारयेत् CNPh.

110. CR 8.63. Also CPS 233.33.
Also in SRHt 192.56. Cf. No. 111.

(*c*) °नायकाश्च CRBh II; °नायके न वस्तव्यं CRT.

111. CNG 46, CNI I 208.
Also in GP 1.115.62, ŚP 1466, SRBh 154.36, IS 279.

(*b*) न वा च GP; वस्तव्यं GPy.
(*d*) तथा च बालनायके GP; वस्तव्यं GPy.

वसेन्मानाधिके स्थाने मानहीनं विवर्जयेत् ।
मानहीनं सुरैः सार्धं विमानमपि वर्जयेत् ॥ ११२ ॥
कुदेशं च कुवृत्तिं च कुभार्यां कुनदीं तथा ।
कुद्रव्यं च कुभोज्यं च वर्जयेच्च विचक्षणः ॥ ११३ ॥
कुदेशश्च कुवृत्तिश्च कुभार्या कुनदी तथा ।
कुमित्रं च कुभोज्यं च वर्जितं पण्डितैः सदा ॥ ११४ ॥
कुभार्यां च कुदेशं च कुराजानं कुसौहृदम् ।
कुबन्धुं च कुमित्रं च दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ११५ ॥

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112. CNG 256.

Also in PRE 2.36, PT 2.63, PTem 2.52, PS 2.34, PP 2.82 (cf. 2.83), PN 1.31, IS 6003, Subh 236. Cf. BhŚ 648.

(*a*) श्रयेन् PP; °भिकं वासं (स्थानं PT, PTem) PRE, PS, PP, PT, PTem, Subh.
(*b*) भग्नमानं न संश्रयेत् PRE, PS, PP; न संवसेत् [त्रि°] PT, PTem.

113. CN 37, CS 3.62. Also CPS 161.377.
Also in SRBh 161.377, IS 1796.

(*a*) कुवित्तं CNPN.
(*c*) कुपुत्रं च कुभोज्यं CNPN, CNPh.
(*d*) वर्जयेत् पण्डितः सदा CNPN, CNPh, CS; वर्जयेत् तु CNJV, CNNSA, CNŚl, CNS, SRBh.

114. CNW 30, CNPh 47.
Also in IS 1798. (Variant of 113 above.)

115. CNG 162, CNI I 78, CRT 8.1. Also CnT II 1.11, CnT III 1.11, CnT VI 11, CnT V 9.

Also in MBh 12.139.92, Har 1160, GP 1.115.1, SRBh 394.680, IS 1802, Subh 103. Also found in LN(P) 91, DhN(P) 230, NKy(B) 120.

कुदेशमासाद्य कुतोऽर्थसंचयः
  कुपुत्रमासाद्य कुतो जलाञ्जलिः ।
कुगेहिनीं प्राप्य कुतो गृहे सुखं
  कुशिष्यमध्यापयतः कुतो यशः ॥ ११६ ॥

(*a*) कुमित्रं च कुदेशं च Har; कुभार्यां च कुसंबन्धं Subh; कुपुत्रं [कुदे°] MBh, SRBh; कुमित्रं [कुदे°] GP.
(*b*) कुपुत्रकम् [कुसौ°] GP.
(*c*) कुसंबन्धं (असं°) कुदेशं च CNI I, MBh, SRBh; कुपुत्रं च कुभार्यां च Har; कुदेशं च कुमित्रं च Subh; कुकन्यां च कुदेशं च GP; कुकन्यां च कदाश्रयं CRT.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

116. CN 93.
Also in SRBh 175.195, SRK 279.76, IS 1797, Sskṛ 53.

Vaṃśastha metre.

III. KING'S FRIENDS, ENEMIES, WAR, PEACE, ALLIANCES, STRATAGEM

Friends and Enemies

आतुरे व्यसने प्राप्ते दुर्भिक्षे शत्रुसंकटे ।
राजद्वारे श्मशाने च यस्तिष्ठति स बान्धवः ॥ ११७ ॥

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117. CV 1.12, Cv 1.13, CS 1.84, CR 2.27, CN 15. Also CnT II 2.3, CnT III 1.15, CnT VI 16, CPS 21.58.

Also in Pts 5.41, HJ 1.75 & 4.66, HS 1.67, HM 1.72 & 4.62, HP 4.66, HN 4.66, HK 1.74 & 4.67, HH 18.3-4, HC 24.12-3 & 149.3-4, VCbr 4.0.15 (p. 285a), SuM 23.43, SRHt 109-12, SRBh 88.5, IS 1221, Subh 177, Sskṛ 54. Also found in LN(P) 92, DhN(P) 95, NKy(B) 121.

(*a*) उत्सवे [आ°] CVAh, CN (CNP II, CNI I, CNG, CNM as above), H (with exceptions noted below); आतुरे व्यसनप्राप्ते CRT; आपत्काले महानर्थे CR; आहवे HJ 4.66, HN, HK; व्याप्ते CVG; युद्धे HM 4.62; चैव [प्रा°] CVAh, CN (CNP II, CNI I, CNM as above), H.

(*b*) राष्ट्रविप्लवे CNSR, CNŚM, CNŚK, CNNSA, CNŚIK, CNŚI, CNSS, CNL, H (with exceptions noted below); राजविग्रहे CvP V, CvLd, CvGt, A in HP, CSC II; शत्रुविग्रहे CVAh, Cv, CS, CR, CN (CNŚI as above), HJ 4.66, HP; शत्रुसंग्रहे CRC, CRT.

(*c*) वा [च] CVG, CSLd, CSJ, CSC I, CSC II, CSB II, CR (CRC, CRT as above).

(*d*) हि [स] N in HP, HN.

परोक्षे कार्यहन्तारं प्रत्यक्षे प्रियवादिनम् ।
वर्जयेत् तादृशं मित्रं विषकुम्भं पयोमुखम् ॥ ११८ ॥
संगतिः श्रेयसो मूलं सुजनेषु विशेषतः ।
तुषमात्रे पृथग्भिन्ने तण्डुलं न प्ररोहति ॥ ११९ ॥
शत्रोरपि गुणा वाच्या दोषा वाच्या गुरोरपि ।
युक्तियुक्तं वचो ग्राह्यं न वचो गुरुगौरवात् ॥ १२० ॥

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118. CV 2.5, Cv 2.5, CS 3.61, CR 8.49, CN 16. Also CnT II 3.1, CnT III 2.5, CnT VI 26, CPS 25.4.

Also in GP 1.115.48, BhŚ 597, PM 1.78, PP 1.284, HJ 1.79, HS 1.71, HM 1.76, HK 1.78, HH 18.19-20, HC 25.9-10, SRHt 111.6 (attributed to Kauṭilya), SRBh 88.1, SRK 54.2, IS 3979, Subh 226, Sskr 54, ŚKDr *ad* परोक्ष and मित्र, *Bahudarśana* 83 (Serampore, 1826), TP 464. Also see LN(P) 80, DhN(P) 87, NKy(B) 110, NM(T) 3.6.

(*a*) परोक्ष° CSC I, CSC II; गुणहन्तारं SRHt.
(*b*) प्रत्यक्ष° CSB I, CSC I.
(*c*) °येद् यत्नतो बन्धुं CNŚM, CNŚK; कुटिलं [ता°] CR (CRT as above); बन्धुं [मि°] CRC, CRT.
(*d*) °कुम्भ° CSB I, CSJ, CNI I, CSC I, CSC II; मायामयमरिं तथा GP.

119. CR 7.69. Also CvGt 4.17, CvTb 4.18.
Also in PtsK 3.55, ŚP 1396, IS 6667, SuM B at the end of 9.
(*a*) संघातः CRC, CRP; श्रेयसी पुंसां (राजन् ŚP) CvGt, PtsK, ŚP; सदृशी पुंसां [श्रे°] CvTb.
(*b*) स्वजनस्य CRC, CRBh I, CRP; स्वपक्षे च [सु°] PtsK; स्वपक्षेण (सप° CvGt), CvTb, CvGt; विपक्षतः CvGt; विगुणेष्वपि बन्धुषु ŚP.
(*c*) तुषैरपि परिभ्रष्टा CvGt, CvTb, PtsK, ŚP.
(*d*) न प्ररोहन्ति तण्डुलाः CvTb, CvGt, PtsK, ŚP.

120. CS 2.97.

वैरिणा सह विश्वासं यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।
स वृक्षाग्रेषु संसुप्तः पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥ १२१ ॥

न विश्वसेत् पूर्वपराजितस्य
शत्रोश्च मित्रत्वमुपागतस्य ।
दग्धां गुहां पश्यत घूकपूर्णां
काकप्रणीतेन हुताशनेन ॥ १२२ ॥

Also in MBh 4.51.15, SRBh 160.340 (ascribed to Kk), Kk 99, Pras 13.5, IS 6384. (Cf. SRHt 91.45.) Also found in Vyās(C) 32.

(*a*) ग्राह्या [वा°] Pras.
(*c*) सर्वथा (°दा Kk, SRBh) सर्वयत्नेन MBh, Kk, SRBh; छत्रच्छेदमयं दृष्ट्वा Pras; युक्त्या युक्तं च वा ग्राह्यं CSC II, CSJ.
(*d*) पुत्रे शिष्ये हितं वहेत् (शिष्यवदाचरेत् Kk, SRBh) MBh, Kk, SRBh; दूरापाति च राघव: Pras; वाच्यं (°च्यो CSJ) CSLd, CSC I, CSJ; °गौरवम् CSC I.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

121. CS 1.8, CR 7.44. Also CPS 210.90.

Also in GP 1.114.48, IS 6293. (Cf. MBh 1.142.73-4 & 12.140.37, HJ 4.11, CNG 152). Also found in NM(T) 6.13.

(*a*) संधाय [वि°] CR, CPS.
(*b*) विश्वस्तो य: स्वपेत् सुखम् (यदि तिष्ठति GP; स्वयम् CRC, CRT, CPS) CR, CPS, GP.
(*c*) वृक्षाग्रेषु कृतस्वप्न: CR (प्रसुतश्च CRT; प्रसुप्तो हि [ऽपि GPy] GP), CPS, GP.
(*d*) संप्रबुध्यते CRBh I, CRP, CRCa I.

122. CR 7.43. Also CPS 211.92.

Also in PS 3.1, PN 3.1, PTem 3.1, PP 3.1, Pts 3.1, PtsK 3.1, PRE 3.1, IS 3428, Subh 176.

(*a*) पूर्वविरोधितस्य PP, Pts, PtsK, PRE; पूर्वविलोभितस्य H in PS.
(*b*) शत्रोस्तु PS; शत्रुं च Subh; शत्रोस्त्वमित्रत्वम् A in PS.

न विश्वसेत् कुमित्रे च मित्रे चापि न विश्वसेत् ।
कदाचित् कुपितं मित्रं सर्वं गुह्यं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ १२३ ॥
न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् ।
विश्वासाद् भयमुत्पन्नं मूलान्यपि निकृन्तति ॥ १२४ ॥

(*c*) पश्य उलूक° CRP, CRBh II, CRC, CRCa I, CPS, Pts, PRE (v.l.), N in PP; दिवान्धपू° NA in PS.

Upendravajrā and Indravajrā metre.

123. CV 2.6, Cv 2.6, CR 7.28, CS 3.46, CN 18. Also CnT II 3.2, CnT III 2.6, CnT VI 27, CPS 25.5.

Also in ŚKDr *ad* विश्वास, GP 1.114.22, SRBh 160.323, ŚP 1301 *ab*, IS 3430.

(*a*) न विश्वसेदमित्रस्य(°त्रं च) CR, CS (CSBD has अमित्रं च) SRBh, ŚP; °सेदविश्वस्ते CN, CSBD, GP; कुमित्रस्य Cv, CNP II, CNI I; अविश्वस्तं CNŚJ, CNH, CNJV, CNSS, CNŚlC, CNŚl, CNŚCV, CNŚB, CNŚA, CNNSA, CNNA, CNNS, CNNM, CNNSS, CNS.

(*b*) न मित्रेऽप्यतिविश्वसेत् CNŚT, CNŚ, CNŚL; मित्रस्यापि न Cv, CR (CRC, CRT have मित्रं), CS (CSBD as above), CNP II, CNI I; मित्रं CvL II, CNŚJ, CNTC, CNH, CNJV, CNSS, CNŚlC, CNŚl, CNŚCV, CNŚB, CNŚA, CNNSA, CNNA, CNNS, CNNM, CNŚlK, CNNSS, CNS; कुमित्रे (°त्रं CNM) च CNG, CNM; विश्वस्ते नातिवि° CNŚPK; चाति CPS.

(*d*) स° गु° tr. CRP; सर्वं° CVB_1, CVB_2, CVP, CVG, CVAh, $CVBn_2$, CVK, Cv (CvTb, CvLd as above), CS, (CSBD, CSB II have सर्वदोषं), CNH, CNŚJ, CNSV, CNŚT, CNSS, CNŚlC, CNŚl, CNŚCV, CNŚB, CNŚA, CNŚ, CNNA, CNŚL, CNNS, CNŚlK, CNNSS, CNS; सर्वं दोषं CN (with the exceptions noted above; CNP II has सर्वगुह्यं); गुह्य° CNMN; गुह्यं दोषं IS.

124. CR 7.42, CS 3.47. Also CNPh 39, CNI I 102, CNI II 47, CNG 87.

व्याधिशेषोऽग्निशेषश्च शत्रोः शेष ऋणस्य च ।
पुनः पुनः प्रवर्तेत तस्मान्निःशेषमाचरेत् ॥ १२५ ॥

Also in MBh 1.142.60*cd*-61*ab*, 5.37.9 and 12.138.142, Har 1164, GP 1.114.47, PP 4.12, Pts 2.39 & 4.13, PtsK 2.43 & 4.14, Śts 70.11-2, SuM 23.19, SV 2734, ŚP 1301, IS 3433, Kk 67. Also found in NM(T) 4.8. Cf. No. 122.

(*a*) अविश्वासे CSB I, CSJ, CSC II; विश्वास्ये CSBD, CSC I; अविश्वस्तं GP, GPy; अमित्रस्य [अ°] CNG, ŚP.

(*b*) विश्वासं नैव CSB I, CSB II; मित्रस्यापि न वि° CNG, ŚP; most texts, with the exception of CRC, GP, GPy have विश्वस्तेऽपि न (च A in Śts); my change to नाति; न विकल्पयेत् CNPh.

(*c*) विश्वस्ताद् CRP, CRBh I.

(*d*) अपि मूलानि कृन्तति MBh 12.138; अपि मूलं नि° IS; मूलम् CRP; मूलादपि GP, GPy, CNPh, CNI I, PP, Śts; एव [अपि] CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSJ.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

125. CR 8.45. Also CPS 242.61. Cf. CN 38, CS 3.38.

Also in MBh 12.140.58, GP 1.115.46, PS 3.69, PN 3.59, PTem 3.114, PP 3.219, Pts 3.178, PRE 3.99, SRBh 154.57, ŚP 1491, SV 2760, IS 1332. (Cf. SRHt 176.57). Also see NM(T) 3.3.

(*a*) ऋणशेषो [व्या°] CRC, CPS, SV; ऋणशेषं चाग्निशेषं GP, GPy, Pts, PS, ŚP; ऋणशेषश्चाग्निशेषः SRBh; ऋणशेषम् अ° MBh, PP, PTem, PRE, A in PS; अग्निशेषमृणाच्छेषं CRP, CRBh II, CRBh I; अग्निशेषं CRB.

(*ab*) ऋणशेषं व्याधिशेषमग्निशेषं N in PS.

(*b*) शत्रुशेषस् (°षं CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II, GPy, PP, Pts, PTem) तथैव च CRC, CPS, CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II, GPy, MBh, PP, PTem, SRBh, SV, ŚP; व्याधिशेषं तथैव च GP, PS, PRE.

(*c*) व्याधिशेषं (अग्निशेषं PS, PRE) च निःशेषं PP, PS, PRE;

नोपेक्षितव्यो विद्वद्भिः शत्रुरल्पबलोऽपि सन् ।
वह्निरल्पोऽपि संवृद्धो भस्मसात् कुरुते वनम् ॥ १२६ ॥

क्षुद्रशत्रुरिति ज्ञात्वा नोपेक्षेत कदाचन ।
काले दुर्जनतां याति तृणस्थं वह्निबीजवत् ॥ १२७ ॥

शत्रोरपत्यानि वशं गतानि
नोपेक्षणीयानि बुधैर्मनुष्यैः ।
तान्येव कालेन विपत्कराणि
बतासिपत्रादपि दारुणानि ॥ १२८ ॥

प्रवर्द्धन्ते CRC, GP, GPy, MBh, Pts, PTem; प्रवर्तन्ते SRBh, ŚP, SV.

(*d*) कृत्वा प्राज्ञो न सीदति PP, PS, PRE; तस्माच्छेषं न कारयेत् (धार° Pts; रक्षयेत् SRBh) GP, GPy, PTem, Pts, SRBh, ŚP; तस्माच्छेषं निवारयेत् IS.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

126. CR 8.44. Also CPS 242.60.

Also in GP 1.114.72, PT 3.142, SRBh 149.315, ŚP 1304, SV 2762, SRHt 174.37 (ascribed to Vallabhadeva), IS 3837. Also see SRN(T) 282.

(*a*) नोपेक्षितो हि CRP; दुर्बुद्धिः GP, GPy.
(*b*) आमयोऽरिरवज्ञया in SV (fn.); अल्पविभूतिकः CRBh I; अल्पोऽप्यवज्ञया GP, GPy, SRBh, ŚP, SV, SRHt.
(*c*) ऽप्यसंग्राह्यः GP, GPy; संवृद्धः SRBh, ŚP, SV.
(*d*) कु° भ° जगत् GP, GPy; कु° भ° व° tr. SRBh, ŚP, SV.

127. CS 3.37. Cf. HJ 2.30.

(*a*) शत्रुम् CSLd, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II.
(*c*) दुर्जनमा CSLd, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ; यान्ति CSB II, CSJ, CSC I.

128. CR 3.40. Also CPS 74.58.

Also in GP 1.110 20 (GPy 1.110.19).

Use of Stratagem

उपायेन हि यच्छक्यं न तच्छक्यं पराक्रमैः ।
काकीकनकसूत्रेण कालसर्पो निपातितः ॥ १२९ ॥
नात्यन्तसरलैर्भाव्यं गत्वा पश्य वनस्थलीम् ।
छिद्यन्ते सरलास्तत्र कुब्जास्तिष्ठन्ति पादपाः ॥ १३० ॥

(*a*) प्रियंवदानि CRT, GP, GPy.
(*b*) नापेक्षितव्यानि GP, GPy, CRT.
(*c*) तान्येषु CRT, GPy (only); कालेषु CRT, GP, GPy.
(*d*) विषस्य पात्राण्यपि (पात्राणि हि GP) दा° CRT, GPy, GP.
Indravajrā and Upendravajrā.

129. CNW 100.

Also in PRE 1.60, PP 1.159, Pts 1.207, PtsK 1.233 & 243, PS 1.50, PT 1.52, PTem 1.59, HJ 2.119, HS 2.114, HM 1.120, HK 2.118, HP 2.106, HN 2.105, HH 61.1-2, HC 80.10-1, Boltz 30.86; *ab* also in HJ 1.214; (cf. Pts 1.209, PtsK 1.236), *Tantrākhyāna* 71, Vet 1.106 (11.4) *ab*. Cf. KSS 10.60, 78, KṣB 16.283-4, IS 1305.

(*a*) तु [हि] NABC in PS; तत् कुर्याद् [य°] PP, PtsK.
(*b*) यन्न शक्यं PP.
(*c*) काक्या HM, HC, PP, Pts, PtsK; काकः PS.
(*d*) कृष्णसर्पममारयत् PRE, PT, PTem, PS, HJ; कृष्णसर्पो PP, Pts, PtsK; विनाशितः N in PP.

130. CV 7.12, Cv 6.5, CR 7.46. Also CNI I 50, CNG 153, CnT II 8.8, CnT III 6.4, CnT VI 94, CPS 203.73.

Also in GP 1.114.50, SV 2758, SuM B after 23.35, IS 3564, Subh 190. Also found in NM(T) 3.14.

(*a*) नात्यन्तं सरलैर् $CVBn_2$, CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvGt CRT, CVLd, CPS, GP.
(*b*) नात्यन्तं मृदुना तथा GP; यथा [ग°] CNI I; वनस्पतीन् CvTb; °तिम् CvH; वने तरून् CRC, GP.
(*c*) छि° स° tr. Cv, CNI I, GP, Subh.
(*d*) कुब्जाः सन्ति पदे पदे CR; कुटिलास्तु पदे पदे CvH.

जिह्वाग्रे वसते लक्ष्मीर्जिह्वाग्रे मित्रबान्धवाः ।
जिह्वाग्रे बन्धनं चापि जिह्वाग्रे मरणं ध्रुवम् ॥ १३१ ॥
हे जिह्वे कटुकस्नेहे मधुरं किं न भाषसे ।
मधुरं वद कल्याणि लोकोऽयं मधुरप्रियः ॥ १३२ ॥
प्रियवाक्यप्रदानेन सर्वे तुष्यन्ति जन्तवः ।
तस्मात् तदेव वक्तव्यं वचने किं दरिद्रता ॥ १३३ ॥
साम्ना दानेन भेदेन क्रमेण च बलेन च ।
सर्वथा तु सदा शत्रुर्घातनीयो नराधिपैः ॥ १३४ ॥

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131. CS 2.12. Also CRBh II 6.37.
Also in SuM 23.6, IS 2419, Subh 172 & 193, NT 55, TP 407. Also found in NŚ(OJ) 5.3.

(*a*) वर्तते Subh.
(*b*) च सरस्वती [मि°] Subh.
(*c*) बन्धनप्राप्तिर् NT, TP; स्वजनः [ब°] CRBh II; मृत्युर् [चा°] Subh; शत्रुर् [चा°] CRBh II.
(*d*) परमं पदम् [म°] CRBh II, Subh.

132. CS 2.11. Also CNM 176, CNMN 141, CNT IV 213. Also in IS 7412.

(*d*) हि [ऽयं] CSBD, CNM; लोकानां मधुरं प्रियम् CSC II.

133. CS 2.13, CV 16.7, CN "R". Also CnT II 10.5, CnT III 7.13, CnT V 28, CnT I 13, CPS 329.31.
Also in SRBh 158.83, SRK 226.56, IS 4352, Subh 64, 245 & 286.

(*a*) °दानेषु CNŚ, CNSR, CNŚL, CNŚIV, CNŚPK.
(*c*) तस्मादेव हि CSLd; एव च [तदेव] CVG, CVB_2; ज्ञातव्यं [व°] CSLd; कर्तव्यं IS (v.l.).
(*d*) किं वाक्येऽपि द° CSB I, CSC II, CSJ; वचनेऽपि CNI I; का [किं] CNMN.

134. CS 2.4.
Also in IS 7019, CKl 43. Cf. Mn 7.198-9.

उपकारगृहीतेन शत्रुणा शत्रुमुद्धरेत् ।
पादलग्नं करस्थेन कण्टकेनेव कण्टकम् ॥ १३५ ॥
सुकुले योजयेत् कन्यां पुत्रं विद्यासु योजयेत् ।
व्यसने योजयेच्छत्रुमिष्टं धर्मेण योजयेत् ॥ १३६ ॥

(*a*) साम्यदा° (सामदा° CSB II) CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ, CKl.
(*c*) सर्वशास्तु CSB II, CSLd.
(*d*) नराधिप CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CSLd.

135. CN 20, CS 2.9, CR 3.16. Also CnT V 13, CPS 369.50. Also in GP 1.110.21, SRBh 149.314, ŚP 1303, IS 1279. (Cf. PP 4.16, Pts 4.18, Ptsk 4.19.)

(*a*) उपचारगृहीतोऽपि हि CNI I; °गृहीतेषु CSC I.
(*c*) पदे लग्नं IS.
(*d*) °केनैव CNŚJ, CNŚT, CNSS, CNŚM, CNŚIC, CNŚK, CNŚCV, CNSB, CNŚC, CNŚ, CNNM, CNS, CNI I, CNL, CNŚB; also most of CS texts and GP.

136. CV 3.3, CS 1.31, CR 3.9. Also CvP IV 7.6, CvTb 7.7, CNP I 16, CNG 53, CNT IV 14, CNM 15, CNMN 15, CnT II 9.8, CnT III 7.4, CnT VII 17, CnT I 4, CPS 51.3.

Also in GP 1.110.10, SRBh 160.341, SRK 249.69, SuM 23.12, IS 7058.

(*a*) कुले नियोजयेद् भक्तं GP; सत्कुले (स्व° CRBh II; स° CRBh I) $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, CVP, CVLd, CNP I, CRC, CRT, CRBh I, CRBh II, CPS.
(*b*) शूरं भेदेन CvP IV, CvTb.
(*d*) शिष्टं CRP, CRBh I; मित्रं [इ°] $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh, CVK, CVLd, CRT, CRC, CS; धर्मे नियो° $CVBn_2$, CNP I, CvP IV, CR (CRT, CRC as above), GP; धर्म्ये नियो° CNNM, CNMN.

मृदुनैव मृदुं हन्ति मृदुना हन्ति दारुणम् ।
नासाध्यं मृदुना किंचित् तस्मात् तीक्ष्णतरो मृदुः ॥ १३७ ॥
बहूनां चैव सत्त्वानां समवायो रिपुंजयः ।
वर्षधाराधरो मेघस्तृणैरपि निवार्यते ॥ १३८ ॥
बहूनामप्यसाराणां समवायो हि दुःसहः ।
तृणैरावेष्ट्यते रज्जुस्तया हस्त्यपि बध्यते ॥ १३९ ॥

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137. CS 3.40. Also CRC 7.56, CRT 7.27, CPS 211.93. Also in MBh 12.140.66 (3.29.30 Bhandarkar ed.), GP 1.114.49, IS 4964. Also found in DhN(P) 64, NM(T) 6.15.

(*a*) छिन्धि MBh.
(*b*) कर्कशम् [दा°] IS.
(*d*) तीक्ष्णात् परो मृ° CRC, CRT, CPS.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh. (Cf. GP 1.114.49 and maxim 121 above).

138. CV 14.4. Also CNP II 130, CNT IV 109, CPS 319.7. Also in SRBh 387.409, IS 4424. Cf. CV 4.12.

(*a*) अपि [चै°] CNP II.
(*c*) वर्षाधा° CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_3$.

139. CRC 7.85, CRB 7.80, CRBh II 7.37. Also CPS 184.24. Also in PP 1.334, Pts 1.331, PtsK 1.376, GP 1.114.66, BhPr 145, SRBh 83.3 (cf. 144.83), SV 2742, JS 403.9, IS 4425, Subh 272, SRHt 193.72 (ascribed to Kauṭilya). Cf. HJ 1.35.

(*a*) अल्पसाराणां CRBh II, BhPr, SRBh 83.3, SV, SRHt.
(*b*) समवायः सुदुर्जयः Bh in PP; समवायो हि दुर्जयः IS (v.l.); संयोगः कार्यसाधकः IS (v.l.); समुदायो PP (N in PP as above), SRBh; दुरत्ययः BhPr, SRBh 83.3; समुदायो हि दारुणः GP, SRBh 144, SRHt, IS (v.l.); बलावहः IS, PtsK, *Pañcatantra* Hamburg MS.; जयावहः PP; समुदायो जयावहः IS (v.l.).

सर्वस्वनाशे संजाते प्राणानामपि संशये ।
अपि शत्रुं प्रणम्योच्चै रक्षेत् प्राणान् धनानि च ॥ १४० ॥
कालेन रिपुणा सन्धिः काले मित्रेण विग्रहः ।
कार्यकारणमाश्रित्य कालं क्षिपति पण्डितः ॥ १४१ ॥
वहेदमित्रं स्कन्धेन यावत् कालविपर्ययः ।
तथैवमागते काले भिन्द्याद् घटमिवाश्मनि ॥ १४२ ॥

(*c*) तृणैराविष्कृता CRC; तृणैः संजायते रज्जुस् IS; गुणत्वमापन्नैर् IS; विधीयते रज्जुर् BhPr, SRBh 83.3; तृणैरारभ्यते रज्जुः IS; °वेष्टिता GP.

(*d*) बध्यन्ते तेन (येन IS) दन्तिनः BhPr, SRBh 83.3; बध्यन्ते मत्तदन्तिनः IS; यया Pts, SRHt; येन PtsK; नागोऽपि ब° GP, PP, PtsK, SV, SRHt.

140. CNT IV 251.
Also in PP 4.19, Pts 4.21, SuM 23.32, PtsK 4.22, IS 6938.

(*a*) सर्वनाशे च सं° PtsK.

(*c*) प्रणम्यापि Pts.

(*d*) प्राण° Pts.

141. Cv 8.2, CL "E", CR 1.10, CS 3.1. Also CNG 8, CnT II 17.5, CnT III 7b 13, CPS 5.4.
Also in GP 1.108.6, IS 7496.

(*a*) काले च CL, CRT, CS, CNG.

(*b*) कालेन मित्रवि° CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvGt, CvL II; काले च मित्रवि° CL, CS; मित्रसंग्रहः° CNG; मित्रेषु विग्रहः CR (v.l.).

(*c*) कालं का° CR (CRT as above), CPS.

(*d*) क्षपति CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CSLd, CSC II.

142. CS 2.10, CR 5.28. Also CNI I 122 *ab*.
Also in MBh 1.142.21 & 12.140.18, SRK 224.31, SRHt 175.42, SRBh 155.89, SV 27.54, IS 6013. Also found in LN(P) 86, DhN(P) 212, NKy(B) 115, RN(P) 104, NM(T) 31. Also see SRN(T) 186.

(*a*) स्कन्धेनापि वहेच्छत्रुं CR (CRBh II as above).

नात्मच्छिद्रं परो विद्याद् विद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य तु ।
गूहेत् कूर्म इवाङ्गानि परभावं च लक्षयेत् ॥ १४३ ॥
मनसा चिन्तितं कार्यं वचसा न प्रकाशयेत् ।
मन्त्रेण रक्षयेद् गूढं कार्ये चापि नियोजयेत् ॥ १४४ ॥

(*b*) कालस्य पर्ययः MBh; कालं विवर्जयेत् CS; काले विपर्ययम् CSJ.
(*c*) प्राप्तकालं तु विज्ञाय MBh 12.140; ततः प्रत्यागते MBh 1.142; तमेव काले संप्राप्ते CR (चागते काले CRBh I).
(*d*) भिद्यात् (°द्या CSC II) CSLd, CSB II, CSC II.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

143. CS 2.7.

Also in MBh 12.140.24, 1.142.8 & 12.83.48, Mn 7.105, KK 152.2-3, VīrR 117.8-9, IS 3692. (Cf. GP 1.114.15.) Also found in LN(P) 76, DhN(P) 224, NKy(B) 106.

(*a*) नास्य Mn, MBh (12.140.24 as above) KK, VīrR; आत्म° CSC I; आत्मदुःखं परो CSB II; परः पश्येत् MBh 1.142, 12.83, IS; रिपुर् MBh 12.140.
(*b*) छिन्द्याच्छिद्रं KK; छिद्रेण (°षु MBh) परमन्वियात् MBh, IS; च [तु] CSLd, CSJ, CSB I, CSC I, CSC II, Medhātithi on Mn; न [तु] CSB II.
(*d*) रक्षेद्विवरमात्मनः Mn, MBh, KK, VīrR; परभागं CSC I.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from Mn (cf. CStMn No. 22).

144. CV 2.7, Cv 2.7, CS 2.8, CN 36. Also CPS 26.6. Also in SRBh 161.376*ab*, IS 4687 (v.l.), Subh 151.

(*a*) चिन्तयेत् CSBD, CSC II, CSB II; कर्म CN, CSBD, SRBh.
(*b*) वाचा नैव CV; प्रकाश्यते CSLd.
(*c*) मन्त्रलक्षणगूढात्मा (or °रक्षण°) Cv (गूढार्थं CvLd), CS; अन्य-लक्षितकार्यस्य CvP IV, CN, SRBh, IS; मन्त्रवद् $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$.

गोपयेत् स्वानि रन्ध्राणि पररन्ध्राणि चिन्तयेत् ।
कुसीदेन निवर्तेत राज्यमिच्छन् नृपः स्थिरम् ॥ १४५ ॥
षण्मासमथवा वर्षं संधिं कुर्यान्नराधिपः ।
आत्मनो बलमालोक्य पश्चाच्छत्रुं निपातयेत् ॥ १४६ ॥
व्यसने सति कुर्वीत येन केनापि संगतिम् ।
ऋक्षवानरगोपुच्छैः पुरा दाशरथिर्यथा ॥ १४७ ॥
दुस्तरः सागरस्तीर्णः समूढं वानरं बलम् ।
अभूतपूर्वं रामेण सेतुर्बद्धश्च सागरे ॥ १४८ ॥

(*d*) कार्येष्वेव Cv (कार्यसिद्धिस्तु जायते CvL II; कार्यसिद्धिं प्रयच्छति CvP V, CvLd, CvGt); कार्यसिद्धिश्च जायते CS; यतः सिद्धिर्न जायते (कार्यं चापि . . . as above CNG) CN, CvP IV, SRBh, IS; एव [अपि] CvTb; निवेदयेत् CvṢ.

145. CRC 4.34, CRB 4.24. Also CPS 87.14.

(*a*) राष्ट्राणि CRB.
(*b*) परराष्ट्राणि CRB.

146. CR 5.26. Also CPS 118.28.
Also in GP 1.112.22.

(*a*) °समथ वर्षं वा GP, GPy.
(*c*) पश्यन् संचितमात्मानं GP, GPy.
(*d*) पुनः शत्रुं निपातयेत् GP, GPy.

147. CS 2.31. Also in IS 6319, CKl 45.

(*a*) कुर्वन्ति CSC I.

148. CS 2.32.
Also in IS 7548, CKl 45.

(*a*) दुस्तरं सागरं तीर्णं CS.
(*b*) समग्रं वानरं बलम् CS.

कार्यार्थी संगतिं याति कृतार्थे नास्ति संगतिः ।
तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि सावशेषाणि कारयेत् ॥ १४९ ॥
ऐश्वर्यात् सह संबन्धं न कुर्याच्च कदाचन ।
गते च गौरवं नास्ति आगते च धनक्षयः ॥ १५० ॥
लुब्धमर्थेन गृह्णीयात् स्तब्धमञ्जलिकर्मणा ।
मूर्खं छन्दोऽनुवृत्तेन याथार्थ्येन च पण्डितम् ॥ १५१ ॥

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149. CR 5.36. Also CPS 121.35.
Also in GP 1.113.4.

(*a*) कार्यार्थे CRB; सावशेषाणि कार्याणि GP, GPy.
(*b*) कुर्वन्नर्थैश्च युज्यते GP, GPy.

150. CNW 105.
Also in SRBh 387.400, IS 1488.

151. CV 6.11, Cv 6.1, CR 2.16, CN 31. Also CnT II 8.5, CnT III 6.1, CnT VI 91, CPS 172.105.

Also in PS 1.26, HJ 4.108, HS 4.102, HM 4.104, HP 4.107, HN 4.107, HK 4.109, HH 116.18-9, HC 156.20-1, GP 1.109.10, SRBh 155.97, IS 5860. Also found in LN(P) 78, DhN(P) 98, NKy(B) 108, NM(T) 3.7; (cf. PP 4.61, Pts 4.109 & 114, MBh 1.142.48-9, 3.184.7 & 5.38.73-4, *Navaratna* 1 in KSH).

(*a*) अर्थप्रदानेन CR, GP.
(*b*) स्तब्धानञ्जलिक° CVK; क्रुद्धम् CRC, CN (CNG, CNL, CNI I, CNI II as above; साधुम् CNM), I in HK; श्लाघ्यम् CRT, GP.
(*c*) छन्दानु° CNŚL, CNNSA, CNŚT, CNŚIK, CNŚIV, CNNSS, CNNM, CNPh, CNI I, CNM, IS (v.l.); छन्दानुवृत्त्या च $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, $CVBn_4$, CVB_1, CVB_2, CVG, CVLd, CVAh, CVK_1, (most CR texts), CvṢ, CvH, CvGt, CNG, CPS, PS, GP, IS, SRBh; छन्दानुरोधेन $CVBn_1$, HK; छन्दोऽनुवृत्त्या च A in HP, CNPh.

उत्तमं प्रणिपातेन शूरं भेदेन योजयेत् ।
नीचमल्पप्रदानेन समशक्तिं पराक्रमैः ॥ १५२ ॥
त्यजेद् धर्मं दयाहीनं विद्याहीनं गुरुं त्यजेत् ।
त्यजेत् क्रोधमुखीं भार्यां निःस्नेहान् बान्धवांस्त्यजेत् ॥१५३॥

(*d*) वशीकुर्वन्ति पण्डिताः CR (CRT as above); यथार्थत्वेन CVG, CVAh, CVK_1, CVB_1, CVB_2, $CVBn_2$, CVLd, CPS; याथातथ्येन Cv, H, PS, GP; सत्येन CNŚJ, CNTC, CNŚL, CNŚM, CNŚK, CNNA, CNŚ, CNŚB, CNŚCV, CNŚIC, CNŚT, CNŚIK, CNŚIV, CNNSS, CNNM 69, CNŚIB, CNŚPK, CNR; तत्त्वार्थेन SRBh; यथार्थेनैव IS.

152. Cv 7.7, CR 2.18, CS 2.6. Also CNP I 6, CNI I 256, CNG 24, CNT IV 5, CNM 5, CNMN 5, CnT II 17.3, CnT III 7b 11, CPS 38.35.

Also in PP 4.61, Pts 4.109 & 114, PtsK 4.74 & 80, GP 1.109.12, SRBh 158.246, IS 1174. (Cf. MBh 12.140.63 & 1.142.48-9.)

(*a*) उत्तमः CRC, CRT, CRCa I, CSB I, CSC II, CPS.
(*b*) शूरो CRBh I, CRCa I, CRC, CRT, CSLd, CSJ, CSB I; शठं GP; अञ्जयेत् CvṢ, CvA, CvL I; योज्यते CPS, CSJ; युज्यते CRC, CRT, CRCa I.
(*c*) नीचं स्वल्प° CR, CPS; लुब्धमर्थप्र° (°द्धं° CSC I) CS; नीचः CPS, CRC, CRT.
(*d*) समं तुल्य° CR (समस् CRC, CRT, CRCa I; see below), CvW, CvH, CNG, CNM, CNMN, CPS, Pts 4.109; समस्तुल्य° CS; समस्तं च परा° CSBD; आत्मतुल्यं CvA, CvṢ, CvI; शत्रुं तुल्य° CNP I; इष्टं धर्मेण योजयेत् SRBh; वाक्यदानेन पण्डितः CvGt (sic!).

153. CV 4.16. Also CNP I 25, CNT IV 24, CNM 24, CNMN 24, CPS 102.55.

Also in SRBh 388.431, IS 2629, Subh 117.

(*a*) देशं [ध°] CNM.

त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थे ग्रामस्यार्थे कुलं त्यजेत् ।
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थे आत्मार्थे पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥ १५४ ॥

(*c*) क्रूर° Subh.
(*d*) निस्नेहान् CVB_1, CVP, CVLd; निस्नेहं बान्धवं त्य° CNP I, CPS; °म° [नि:°] CNPN.

154. CV 3.10, Cv 1.7, CR 2.3, CN 29. Also CnT II 1.12, CnT III 1.12, CnT VI 13, CPS 78.67.

Also in MBh 1.115.36, 2.61.11 & 5.36.17, PS 1.105, PN 2.83, PT 1.107, PTem 1.118, Pts 1.355 & 3.84, PRE 1.117, HJ 1.159, HS 1.141, HM 1.148, HP 1.115, HN 1.116, HK 1.150, HH 28.12-3, HC 38.12-3, *Kathārṇava* (ZDMG 14.574), VCjr 28.3, GP 1.109.2, Śts 21.4-5, MK 76, SRBh 153.32, ŚP 1462, IS 2627. Also found in LN(P) 156, DhN(P) 205, NKy(B) 180 (cf. 200).

(*a*) त्यजेत् कुलार्थे पुरुषं MBh; दोषं [ए°] CNP I; देशं [ए°] CR (CRT as above); °र्थं CRBh I.
(*b*) अर्थं CVB_2.
(*c*) जनस्यार्थे N in HP (by mistake for जनपदस्यार्थे); जनपदस्यार्थं IS (v.l.) Pts.
(*d*) स्वात्मार्थे CR (CRT as above), HK, HC, PT, PRE, SR in VC; ह्यात्मार्थे CVAh, SRBh; चात्मार्थे CNPh, PS(fn.); सकलं [पृ°] CvP IV.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from MBh.

Compare also:

आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद् दारान् रक्षेद् धनैरपि ।
आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद् दारैरपि धनैरपि ॥

CV 1.6, Cv 1.6, CR 2.1, CN 27. Also found in MBh 5.36.18 and 1.160.27, Mn 7.213, GP 1.109.1, Pts 1.356 and 3.86, HJ 1.43, VCsr 12.1, VCjr 20.1, Śto 321.12-3, Vet 19.16, HDh 14, BhPr 198, SRBh 161.348, IS 958 and some *nibandha-s* (VīrR 413.2-3, RRK 31.16-7, KK 142.12 sqq. and Dh 3.1978). Also found in NM(T) 3.5.

Varia

बलं विद्या च विप्राणां राज्ञां सैन्यं बलं तथा ।
बलं वित्तं च वैश्यानां शूद्राणां चैकनिष्ठता ॥ १५५ ॥
बाहुवीर्यं बलं राज्ञो ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मविद् बली ।
रूपयौवनमाधुर्यं स्त्रीणां बलमनुत्तमम् ॥ १५६ ॥
हतं ज्ञानं क्रियाहीनं हताश्चाज्ञानिनः क्रियाः ।
हतं निर्नायकं सैन्यं स्त्रियो नष्टा ह्यभर्तृकाः ॥ १५७ ॥

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155. CV 2.16. Also CPS 29.15.
Also in IS 4388. (Cf. MBh 2.38.17*cd*-18*ab* and 5.167.17, Mn 2.155.)

(*b*) सैन्यबलं CPS.
(*c*) वेश्यानां CVP.
(*d*) सेवनं बलम् CVK; च कनिष्ठता $CVBn_1$, CVB_1, CVLd.

156. CV 7.11, Cv 6.4. Also CnT I 43, CPS 203.72.
Also in SRBh 386.359, IS 4457. Also found in LN(P) 95, DhN(P) 73, NKy(B) 123, (cf. 138).

(*a*) बाह्वोर्वीर्यं CVAh; बाहुबुद्धिब° CvTb; °वीर्यबलो राजा Cv (for other variants see Cv); राज्ञां IS.
(*b*) ब्रह्मणां ब्रह्मवित् $CVBn_2$; ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदां बलम् Cv.
(*c*) यौवनसंपत्तिः Cv (शीलं विनयसं° CVP V, CvLd).
(*d*) च बलमुत्तमम् Cv.

157. CV 8.8, CL 2.10. Also CnT I 35, CPS 233.34.
Also in SRBh 166.570, IS 7361; (cf. HH 6.5-6.) Also see LN(P) 96, DhN(P) 257, NKy(B) 124.

(*b*) हता येऽज्ञानिनो नराः CL (च ज्ञानिनः क्रिया CLI); हतश्चाज्ञानतो नरः CV, CLA, CLB; °ज्ञानिनो नराः SRBh.
(*c*) चानायकं CLB (fn.), CLI, CLA, CLL I, SRBh.
(*d*) अमर्यादाः स्त्रियो हताः CL (अभर्तारो हताः स्त्रियः CLB fn., CLH, CLTb, CLI, SRBh; हता निर्नायकाः स्त्रियः CLP V).

हतमश्रोत्रियं श्राद्धं हतो यज्ञस्त्वदक्षिणः ।
हता रूपवती वन्ध्या हतं सैन्यमनायकम् ॥ १५८ ॥
आलस्योपहता विद्या परहस्तगताः स्त्रियः ।
अल्पबीजं हतं क्षेत्रं हतं सैन्यमनायकम् ॥ १५९ ॥
महानदीप्रतरणं महापुरुषविग्रहम् ।
महाजनविरोधं च दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ॥ १६० ॥
घासमिन्धनमन्नाद्यं शस्त्राणि विविधानि च ।
दुर्गे प्रवेशनीयानि सततं शत्रुशङ्कया ॥ १६१ ॥

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158. CN 98. Also CPS 372.60.
Also in SRBh 162.425, IS 7362. (Cf. CNM 39, HS *ad* Intr. 48, PtsK 2.101. Also see SS(OJ) 286).

(*a*) अश्रोत्रिये दानं IS; दानं [श्रा°] CNPh.
(*c*) नारी [व°] CNPh.

159. CV 5.7. Also CNP I 30, CNP II 234, CNI I 228, CNT IV 29, CNM 29, CNMN 29, CnT II 15.6, CnT III 7.25, CnT V 118, CPS 124.45.
Also in SRBh 157.177, SRK 250.88, IS 1031, Subh 282.

(*a*) आलस्येन ह° CNP I, CNP II, CNI I, CNM, Subh; °गता [°हता] $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$.
(*b*) परहस्ते $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$; आलापेन ह° [प°] IS, Subh; परहास्येन च CNI I; गतं धनम् $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CVAh, CVLd, CPS.

160. CNG 140, CNI I 75, CRC 5.8.
Also in VCsr 5.1, VCjr 5.3, SRBh 167.650, IS 4759.

(*b*) °निग्रहम् MT in VCsr.
(*d*) न कर्तव्यं कदाचन F in VCjr.

161. CR 5.25. Also CPS 118.27.
Also in GP 1.112.21.

दाक्षिण्यं स्वजने दया परिजने शाठ्यं सदा दुर्जने
प्रीतिः साधुजने स्मयः खलजने विद्वज्जने चार्जवम् ।
शौर्यं शत्रुजने क्षमा गुरुजने नारीजने धृष्टता
इत्थं ये पुरुषाः कलासु कुशलास्तेष्वेव लोकस्थितिः॥ १६२॥

उपसर्गेऽन्यचक्रे च दुर्भिक्षे च भयावहे ।
असाधुजनसंपर्के यः पलायेत् स जीवति ॥ १६३ ॥

(*a*) सुसन्धानानि चार्थानि (चास्त्राणि GP) GPy, GP; घास CRC, CPS; °ज्यं CRC, CPS.
(*c*) प्रवेशितव्यानि GP, GPy.
(*d*) नित्यं (ततः GP) शत्रुं निपातयेत् GP, GPy.

162. CV 12.3. Also CPS 300.28.

Also in BhŚ 71, Pras 7.1, SRBh 179.1039, SV 2946, IS 2738, Subh 212, *Śatakāvalī* 91, SRK 14.16, SuM 28.20, SA 24.44, VKS 343, SHV fo. 100b.44, SS 6.37, SSD 2.fo.94a, SMV 28.21.

(*a*) सुजने [स्व°] BhŚ (v.l.); परजने [प°] CV, BhŚ; तथा [स°] SV, BhŚ (v.l); जने [स°] BhŚ.
(*b*) नीतिः SRK; शमः [स्म°] BhŚ (v.l.); नयो नृपजने [स्म°] BhŚ (v.l.), SRK, SRBh; विद्वज्जनेष्वार्जवम् Pras, SRBh, SV; त्वार्जवम् BhŚ (v.l.); ऽप्यार्जवम् BhŚ (v.l.).
(*c*) कान्ताजने BhŚ (v.l.); धूर्तता CV, BhŚ.
(*d*) ये चैवं BhŚ, Pras, SRBh, SRK, SV; ये त्वेवं BhŚ (v.l.); एवं ये BhŚ (v.l.); येऽप्येवं BhŚ (v.l.); कलौ सुकुशलास् BhŚ (v.l.); ये चैवं कुशला भवन्ति पुरुषास् BhŚ (v.l.); तैरेव [ते°] IS; तेषां हि लोके BhŚ (v.l.), IS; लोकः स्थितः BhŚ (v.l.); लोकज्ञता BhŚ (v.l.).

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

163. CV 3.19. Also CvTb 3.5, CPS 62.76.
Also in IS 1295.

(*c*) °संसर्गे $CVBn_1$.
(*d*) पलायति $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVLd, CPS; पलायेत CVK.

जीर्णमन्नं प्रशंसन्ति भार्यां च गतयौवनाम् ।
रणात् प्रत्यागतं शूरं शस्यं च गृहमागतम् ॥ १६४ ॥
शीतभीताश्च ये विप्रा रणभीताश्च क्षत्रियाः ।
अग्निभीता च या नारी त्रयः स्वर्गं न यान्ति हि ॥ १६५ ॥

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164. CN 77, CS 2.79. Also CPS 371.57.
Also in MBh 5.34.70, IS 2424. (Cf. *Śāntiśatakam* 121 in KSH 427.)

(*a*) प्रशंसीयाद् CN; प्रशंसेच्च CNŚ, CNŚIB, CPS; प्रशंसन्ते CNŚIK.
(*c*) शूरं विजितसंग्रामं MBh; रण° CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSJ; प्रत्यागत: CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSJ; शूर: CSLd, CSB II, CSC I, CSJ.
(*d*) सस्यं CNF; गतपारं तपस्विनम् MBh.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but influenced by MBh.

165. CNW 96, CRC 8.163. Also CPS 345.35.
Also in SRBh 392.620, IS 6466.

(*a*) °तश्च विप्रश्च CRC, CPS.
(*b*) °तश्च क्षत्रिय: CRC, CPS.
(*c*) धनाढ्यो दानभीतश्च CRC, CPS.
(*d*) त्रयी स्वर्गं न गच्छति CRC, CPS.

IV. KING'S OFFICIALS

Service in the King's Court from the point of view of the Officials

विप्रयोर्विप्रवह्न्योश्च दंपत्योः स्वामिभृत्ययोः ।
अन्तरेण न गन्तव्यं हरस्य वृषभस्य च ॥ १६६ ॥

व्रजेद् धनार्थी वाणिज्यं विद्यार्थी च बहुश्रुतम् ।
ऋतुकालमपत्यार्थी मानार्थी नृपतिं व्रजेत् ॥ १६७ ॥

समाने शोभते प्रीती राज्ञि सेवा च शोभते ।
वाणिज्यं व्यवहारेषु स्त्री दिव्या शोभते गृहे ॥ १६८ ॥

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166. CV 7.5, Cv 5.15, CS 3.55. Also CnT II 8.2, CnT III 5.14, CnT VI 88, CPS 180.12.

Also in GP 1.114.45, IS 6160.

(*a*) द्वौ विप्रौ विप्रमग्निं च Cv, CS (CSB II as above).
(*b*) स्वामिनोस्तथा GP; °त्योर्नृपभृत्ययोः CvL II; °त्यौ CSC II; गुरुशिष्ययोः CPS, CS.
(*c*) अन्तरे (°रं CvTb) नैव (नाव IS) CVP, CVB_2, CvTb; अन्तरं नैव गन्तव्यं CSBD, CSB I, CSC II, CSLd, CSJ.
(*d*) हरेश्च CvW; हलस्य $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1.

167. CS 3.26.

Also in IS 6339.

168. CV 2.20. Also CPS 32.21.

Also in IS 6847.

(*a*) प्रीतिः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$.
(*b*) सेवात्र CVK_1; प्रशोभते CVLd.

अप्रधानः प्रधानः स्याद् यदि सेवेत पार्थिवम् ।
प्रधानोऽप्यप्रधानः स्याद् यदि सेवाविवर्जितः ॥ १६९ ॥
वाणिज्ये वसते लक्ष्मीस्तदर्धं कृषिकर्मणि ।
तदर्धं राजसेवायां भिक्षायां नैव नैव च ॥ १७० ॥
प्रथमे कृषिवाणिज्यं द्वितीये चाश्वपोषणम् ।
तृतीये क्रयविक्रयौ चतुर्थे राजसेवनम् ॥ १७१ ॥
देवताः पूजयेद् भक्त्या भृत्यान् दानेन पूजयेत् ।
उपकारेण शूद्रं च विप्रं प्रणतिवन्दनात् ॥ १७२ ॥
मन्त्रिवर्गस्य सारोऽयं दृशि नित्यं प्रसन्नता ।
मुखे वहति माधुर्यं हृदये कार्यनिश्चयम् ॥ १७३ ॥

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169. CvL I 8.45.
Also in PP 1.17, Pts 1.134, PtsK 1.40, Śts 21.9, IS 465.

(*b*) पार्थिवं यदि सेवते Pañc.
(*d*) भुपतिवर्जितः L in Śts.

170. CNPN 94.
Also in IS 6034, TP 460.

171. CNP II 3.
Also in CM 114.

172. CS 1.91.
Also in CKl 41.

(*a*) देवतां CSBD.
(*c*) शूद्रः पूज्योपचारेण CSLd, CSC I.
(*d*) विप्राणामभिवन्दनम् CSB I, CSC I, CSJ; अभिमन्त्रणम् CSB I.

173. CR 5.27. Also CPS 114.17.

(*a*) °वर्गेषु CRC, CPS.
(*b*) पश्य[दृ°] CRBh II; नित्यप्र° CPS.
(*c*) वदति CRBh I.

परकार्येषु युक्तात्मा स्वकार्ये क्षिप्रसाधनम् ।
सुहृत्कार्येषु निर्वृत्ती राजकार्येषु विक्रमः ॥ १७४ ॥
कान्तावियोगः स्वजनापमान
  ऋणस्य शेषं कुनृपस्य सेवा ।
दरिद्रभावाद् विमुखं च मित्रं
  विनाग्निना पञ्च दहन्ति कायम् ॥ १७५ ॥

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174. CS 3.20.
Also in CKl 61.

(*b*) °साधकः CSLd, CSBD.

175. CV 2.14, CR 8.16. Also CvTb 8.25, CNG 327, CNP II 24, CPS 28.13.

Also in Vet 4.15, SRBh 389.479 (cf. 172.827), GP 1.115.18, IS 1630.

(*a*) स्वजनापमानो CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_2$, CVB$_1$, CVB$_2$, CVB$_3$, CVG, CVAh, CVK$_1$, CVP; स्वजनावमान IS; स्वजनानुरागो (°गं A in Vet) IS, A in Vet; स्वजनापमानम् Vet, CvTb, CNP II, SRBh, GP, GPy, CR (°पमानः CRC; सुज° CRB).

(*b*) कन्या कुशीला कुजनस्य सेवा CR (विशीला [कु°] CRC, CRP, CRBh I, CRT; स्वज° CRC, CRT); रणस्य CVB$_1$, CVB$_2$, CVG, CVAh, CVBn$_2$, CVK$_1$, CVP; कुजनस्य CNG, CvTb, CNP II, Vet, SRBh; शेषः कु° GP, GPy, CVBn$_2$, CVBn$_3$, CVK$_1$, CPS.

(*c*) दरिद्रभावो विषमा सभा च CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_2$, CVB$_1$, CVB$_2$, CVB$_3$, CVK$_1$, CVAh, CVP, CPS; विमुखाश्च मित्राः A in Vet, GP, SRBh; °त् प्रविमुक्तमित्रं CRC, CRT.

(*d*) विनाग्निमेते प्रद°(°ग्निना ते प्र°) CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_2$, CVBn$_3$, CVAh, CVK$_1$; विनाग्निनेते CVB$_1$, CVG, CVP; तीव्रम् [का°] CR; तीव्राः GP.

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

कुग्रामवासः कुलहीनसेवा
कुभोजनं क्रोधमुखी च भार्या ।
पुत्रश्च मूर्खो विधवा च कन्या
विनाग्निना षट् प्रदहन्ति कायम् ॥ १७६ ॥
लता पार्श्वे स्थितं वृक्षं भृत्याः पार्श्वे स्थितं नृपम् ।
पार्श्वस्थं पुरुषं योषिद् वेष्टयन्ति न संशयः ॥ १७७ ॥
स्त्री विनश्यति रूपेण ब्राह्मणो राजसेवया ।
गावो दूरप्रचारेण हिरण्यं लाभलिप्सया ॥ १७८ ॥

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176. CV 4.8. Also CPS 99.48.

Also in Pady 10, SRBh 173.876, IS 1785-6. Cf. Subh 12 & 106.

(*a*) कुनरेन्द्र° Subh; कुजनस्य Pady, SRBh.
(*c*) मुर्खश्च पुत्रो Pady, SRBh; कन्याबहुत्वं च दरिद्रता च Subh.
(*d*) विनाग्निमेते CVBn$_2$; संदहते शरीरं Pady; षड् जीवलोके नरका भवन्ति Subh; दहन्त्यमी वह्निमृते शरीरम् SRBh.

Upendravajrā metre.

177. CS 2.77.

Also in IS 5829, CKl 54. (Cf. PN 2.16, PS 1.21, PT 1.15, PRE 1.20, PP 1.28, Pts 1.35, HJ 2.55, HS 2.55, HM 2.58, HK 2.58, HP 2.51, HN 2.50, HH 48.11-4, HC 64.5-8, Vet 5.4 [in Dc MSs only], Śts 21.11-4, ŚB 2.595.)

(*a*) पार्श्वस्थितं CSBD.
(*b*) पार्श्वस्थितं CSBD.
(*c*) पार्श्वस्थं CSC II, CSLd, CSC I.

178. Cv 7.2. Also CnT II 17.8, CnT III 7b 16, CnT I 26. Also in SRBh 153.19, ŚP 1444, SRK 227.70, IS 7213.

(*a*) गर्वेण [रू°] CvP IV, CvTb, CvGt.
(*d*) शूद्रान्नेन द्विजोत्तमः CvTb; लोभलि° CvP IV, CvW; लोललि° CvP V, CvLd.

नवं वस्त्रं नवं छत्रं वनानां च नवं फलम् ।
सर्वं नवं प्रशंसीयात् सेवकं च पुरातनम् ॥ १७९ ॥

त्यजेत् स्वामिनमत्युग्रमत्युग्रात् कृपणं त्यजेत् ।
कृपणादविशेषज्ञं तस्माच्च कृतनाशनम् ॥ १८० ॥

वृक्षं क्षीणफलं त्यजन्ति विहगाः शुष्कं सरः सारसाः
निर्द्रव्यं पुरुषं त्यजन्ति ललना भ्रष्टं नृपं मन्त्रिणः ।
पुष्पं पर्युषितं त्यजन्ति मधुपा दग्धं वनान्तं मृगाः
सर्वः कार्यवशाज्जनोऽभिरमते कः कस्य को वल्लभः ॥

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179. CNPN 76.
Also in CM 87. (Cf. *Nītipradīpa* 15 in KSH 528.)

180. Cv 4.14, CS 1.75, CR 2.10. Also CNF 67, CNG 81, CNPh 34, CNI I 93 & 269, CNI II 44, CnT II 6.9, CnT III 4.16, CnT VI 71, CPS 38.36.
Also in SRBh 157.202, SRHt 147.38, IS 7530, CKl 40. Also found in NŚ(OJ) 15.9, Ślt(OJ) 40, LN(P) 89, DhN(P) 86, NKy(B) 118.

(*d*) तस्मात्तं परिवर्जयेत् CvP V, CvW, CvLd; तस्माद् दुष्कृतिनं त्यजेत् CvP IV, CvGt; तस्मादकृ° CSB I; सर्वथा परुषाक्षरम् CPS; कृतिनाशकं CNPh; कृतशासनम् CNI I, SRBh; कृतनाशकम् CNI II.

181. CR 2.15. Also CNP II 23 *ac/bd*, CPS 31.19.
Also in GP 1.109.9, PtsK 2.102 *ac/bd*, ṢR 4 *ac/bd*, VāY 8 *ac/bd* (NS 40, Kāk, Kās), SRBh 178.1013, ŚP 1543, IS 6246, SuB 14.2, Subh 156.

(*a*) शीर्णफलं CRP.
(*b*) निद्रव्यं CRBh I, CRP, GPy; गणिका [ल°] CRC, CRT, CPS, GP, CNP II, PtsK, ṢR, VāY, SRBh, ŚP; वनिता [ल°] GPy; भ्रष्टश्रियं CRC, CPS, CRT, SR, VāY.
(*c*) निर्दग्धं कुसुमं [पु°] IS.

Service in the King's Court from the point of View of the King

धीराणां भूषणं विद्या मन्त्रिणो राजभूषणम् ।
भूषणं च पतिः स्त्रीणां शीलं सर्वस्य भूषणम् ॥ १८२ ॥

असहायस्य कार्याणि सिद्धिं नायान्ति कानिचित् ।
तस्मात् समस्तकार्येषु सहायो भूपतेर्गतिः ॥ १८३ ॥

नदीतीरे च ये वृक्षाः परगेहेषु कामिनी ।
मन्त्रिहीनाश्च राजानः शीघ्रं नश्यन्त्यसंशयम् ॥ १८४ ॥

नदीतीरेषु ये वृक्षा या च नारी निरङ्कुशा ।
मन्त्रिहीनो भवेद् राजा तस्य राज्यं विनश्यति ॥ १८५ ॥

(*d*) सर्वे ṢR; हि रमते GP, GPy, PtsK; हि भजते IS; ऽनुरमते ŚP; किं कस्य PtsK; लोकस्य IS; तत् कस्य SRBh, ŚP; कस्यास्ति [कः क°] CRC, CRT, CPS, GP, GPy, ṢR, VāY; कस्येह को CRBh I.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

182. CL "G".

Also in SRBh 167.649, CM 185. (Cf. CNW 24, CS 3.76, GP 1.113.13.)

(*b*) मन्त्रिणां भूषणं नृपः SRBh.

183. CR 5.32. Also CPS 119.30.

(*a*) कर्माणि CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP; यान्ति न [ना°] CRB.
(*d*) °तेः कृतः CRC.

184. CV 2.15. Also CnT II 13.2, CnT III 7.48, CnT V 83, CPS 29.14. (Nos. 184-7 are variants of the same maxim.)

185. CL 1.9.

Also in SRBh 167.644. (Cf. note to No. 184.)

(*a*) नदीतीरे च ये CLLd; यो वृक्षो CLṢ.
(*b*) यस्य [या च] SRBh; च ना° tr. CLT.
(*c*) मन्त्रिहीनश्च यो राजा CLI; मन्त्रहीनं तथा राज्यं CLA.
(*d*) त्रयमेतद् CLA.

नदीतीरे च ये वृक्षा या च नारी निराश्रया ।
मन्त्रिणा रहितो राजा अचिरं तस्य जीवनम् ॥ १८६ ॥
नदीतीरेषु ये वृक्षा या च नारी निराश्रया ।
सामन्तरहितो राजा न भवन्ति चिरायुषः ॥ १८७ ॥
यत् किंचित् कुरुते भृत्यः शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम् ।
सुकृतं वर्धते तेन राज्ञो दुष्कृतमेव च ॥ १८८ ॥
यत् किंचित् कुरुते भृत्यः शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम् ।
तेन संवर्धते राजा सुकृतैर्दुष्कृतैरपि ॥ १८९ ॥

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186. CNF 26 & 127, CNW 44, CNI I 237, CNG 43, CNPh 98.

Also in IS 3291, Subh 92. (Cf. note to No. 184.)

(*a*) नदीतीरेषु ये Subh.
(*b*) ना° च tr. CNI I; निरङ्कुशा CNG.
(*c*) मतिहीनो नृपश्चैव CNI I; मन्त्रिहीनाश्च राजानो Subh.
(*d*) न चिरं CNG, IS; न भवन्ति चिरायुषः Subh; जीवितम् CNG.

187. CS 3.49.

Also in VCmr V 96-7, VCbr V 2, CKl 65. (Cf. note to No. 184).

(*a*) नदीतीरे च CSBD.
(*b*) कन्या [ना°] CSLd, CSB I, CSC II, CKl; °श्रये CSJ.
(*c*) मन्त्रिणा रहितो VCbr; मन्त्रिणा रहिता भूपा VCmr.

188. CR 5.31.

Also in GP 1.112.24. (Nos. 188-9 are variants of the same maxim.)

(*a*) कर्म [भृ°] GP.
(*c*) तेन स्म वर्धते राजा GP.
(*d*) सूक्ष्मतो भृत्यकार्यतः GP.

189. CS 1.70. Also CNG 77, CNI I 273, CnT II 26.9, CnT I 42.

Also in IS 5040, CKl 38. (Cf. note to No. 188.)

(*a*) मन्त्री [भृ°] CNI I.

दौर्मन्त्र्यान्नृपतिर्विनश्यति यतिः सङ्गात् सुतो लालनाद्
विप्रोऽनध्ययनात् कुलं कुतनयाच्छीलं खलोपासनात् ।
स्त्री मद्यादनवेक्षणादपि कृषिः स्नेहः प्रवासाश्रयात्
मैत्री चाप्रणयात् समृद्धिरनयात् त्यागात् प्रमादाद् धनम् ॥
कुस्त्री हन्ति कुटुम्बानि कुपुत्रो हन्ति वै कुलम् ।
कुमन्त्री हन्ति राजानं राष्ट्रं चौरेण हन्यते ॥ १९१ ॥
वैद्यं पानरतं नटं कुपठितं स्वाध्यायहीनं द्विजं
शूरं कापुरुषं विभुं च विरसं मूर्खं परिव्राजकम् ।

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190. CR 8.7. Also CPS 29.9 v.l.

Also in PP 1.129 *ab/dc*, Pts 1.169 *ab/dc*, PtsK 1.185 *ab/dc*, BhŚ 23, ŚP 1533 *ab/dc*, SV 2945, Pras 27.1, Kk 51, SRBh 178.1010, SRK 240.92, SSD 2. fo. 153b, SRHt 240.55, SHV fo. 96a 71-2, VP 9.131, IS 2991.

(*a*) दुर्मन्त्रान् BhŚ (v.l.), PP, Pts, PtsK; सती [य°] BhŚ (v.l.); सङ्गात् CRP; ऽलालनाद् IS.
(*b*) स्नेहः प्रवासाश्रयात् [छी°] Pts.
(*c*) ह्रीर् [स्त्री] BhŚ, SRK, PP (v.l.), Pras; अनपे° BhŚ (v.l.); कृषिस्त्यागात् प्रमादाद् धनम् PP (see *d* in Pts) ŚP, PtsK.
(*d*) अनयाद् द्यूतात् Pras; अनयात्त्याग° BhŚ (v.l.); अनयत्यागात् BhŚ (v.l.); स्नेहः [त्या°] PP, PtsK, ŚP; त्वेव [त्या°] IS; द्यूत(त्) [त्या°] IS, M in PP; प्रवासाद् BhŚ (v.l.); प्रवासाश्रयात् PP, PtsK (see *c*); °छीलं खलोपासनात् Pts, PtsK, ŚP.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

191. CS 2.70.

(*b*) हन्यते CSC I, CSB I.
(*d*) चोरेण CSB I, CSLd.

192. CRB 8.73, CRP 8.70, CRBh I 8.71, CRBh II 8.59, CvTb 7.24, CnT II 28.2.

राजानं च कुमन्त्रिभिः परिवृतं देशं च सोपद्रवं
भार्यां यौवनगर्वितां पररतां मुञ्चन्ति शीघ्रं बुधाः ॥१९२॥
अनभ्यासैर्हता विद्या नित्यहासैर्हताः स्त्रियः ।
कुबीजेन हतं क्षेत्रं भृत्यदोषैर्हता नृपाः ॥ १९३ ॥
वामा भार्या सुतो मूर्खः प्रेषकोऽवाग्विचारकः ।
निःस्नेहो बन्धुवर्गश्च त्यजेदस्य महत्सुखम् ॥ १९४ ॥
कुनयं मन्त्रिराजानं विप्रं च वृषलीपतिम् ।
प्रव्राजिनं व्रतभ्रष्टं न सेवन्ति सदा बुधाः ॥ १९५ ॥

Also in PR 3, VāY 6, Śts 18.1-4, ŚP 1542, SRBh 178.1012, IS 6284.

(*a*) पापरतं CvTb.
(*b*) युद्धे PR, VāY; योधं CvTb, SRBh; विटं CvTb; हयं गतरयं [वि°] PR, VāY, SRBh; पुरुषं [वि°] CvTb.
(*c*) राज्यं बालनृपं च मन्त्रिरहितं मित्रं (पञ्च) छलान्वेषि यद् CvTb.
(*d*) मुञ्चन्तु IS; ये ते [शी°] CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II; ते पण्डिताः SRBh.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

193. CS 1.16. Also CNPh 149.
Also in IS 7442. Also found in NŚ(OJ) 4.18.

(*c*) अल्पबीजं [कु°] CNPh.
(*d*) अल्पकोशहतो नृपः CNPh.

194. CS 1.76.
Also in CKl 40.

(*a*) भामा CSC II.
(*c*) निस्नेहो CSBD, CSLd, CSJ, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II.

195. CS 3.52.

(*a*) मित्रराजानं CSBD.
(*c*) प्रव्राजितं (°व्र° CSC I; °जकं CSB I) CSLd, CSB II, CSC I, CSJ, CSB I.

Choice of King's Officials

भृत्या बहुविधा ज्ञेया उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
ते नियोज्या यथायोग्यं त्रिविधेष्वेव कर्मसु ॥ १९६ ॥

परीक्ष्य प्रथमं भृत्यानुत्तमाधममध्यमान् ।
योजयेत् तादृशेष्वेव नृपतिः स्वेषु कर्मसु ॥ १९७ ॥

निरालस्याः सुसंतुष्टाः सुस्वप्नाः सुप्रबोधिनः ।
सुखदुःखसमा धीरा भृत्या जगति दुर्लभाः ॥ १९८ ॥

यथा चतुर्भिः कनकं परीक्ष्यते
निघर्षणच्छेदनतापताडनैः ।
तथा चतुर्भिः पुरुषः परीक्ष्यते
कुलेन शीलेन गुणेन कर्मणा ॥ १९९ ॥

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196. CS 1.73. Also CNI I 267, CNG 79.
Also in GP 1.112.1, IS 4623. Also in NŚ(OJ) 15.3.

(*a*) राजन् [ज्ञे°] CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II; प्रोक्ता [ज्ञे°] CNI.
(*c*) नियोक्तव्या यथार्थेषु GP; तथा° [य°] CSC II; °योगं CSJ; ऽर्थेषु CNI I.
(*d*) °षु च CSBD.

197. CR 5.1.

198. CR 5.23. Also CPS 110.6.
Also in GP 1.112.19. Also found in NM(T) 6.18.

(*a*) °लस्याश्च सं° CPS.
(*b*) प्रतिबोधकाः GP, GPy.
(*d*) लोकेषु [ज°] GP, GPy.

199. CV 5.2, Cv 4.6, CR 5.2. Also CNŚK 82, CnT II 5.12, CnT III 4.7, CnT VI 62, CPS 109.2.

यथा हेम परीक्षेत तापताडनच्छेदनैः ।
तथा पुरुषमप्येवं कुलशीलेन कर्मणा ॥ २०० ॥
जानीयात् प्रेषणे भृत्यान् बान्धवान् व्यसनागमे ।
मित्रं चापत्तिकालेषु भार्यां च विभवक्षये ॥ २०१ ॥

Also in GP 1.112.3, SRBh 175.914, IS 5104, Subh 157. Also found in NŚ(OJ) 3.5, Ślt(OJ) 80.

(*a*) परीक्षते IS, CVG, CvGt.
(*b*) संघर्षण° CVK_1; तुलाघर्षणच्छेदनतापनेन GP in ŚKDr *ad* भृत्य.
(*c*) चतुर्भिर्भृतकं परीक्षयेत् GP; तथैव धर्मो विदुषा CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb, CvLd, Subh; पुरुषं परीक्षते CvL II.
(*d*) व्रतेन [कु°] GP; श्रुतेन [कु°] Cv, CNŚK, SRBh; त्यागेन CV; कुलेन [गु°] CNŚK, GP, SRBh.

Vaṃśastha metre.

200. CS 1.71.
Also in IS 5158, CKl 39. Also see NŚ(OJ) 3.5.

(*a*) परीक्ष्येत (°क्षन्ते IS) CSBD, CSB I, CSC I, IS.
(*b*) °भेदनैः CSBD, CSJ.
(*c*) एव CSLd.
(*d*) गुणशीलेन CKl.

201. CV 1.11, Cv 1.12, CR 2.40, CS 1.72, CN 19. Also CnT II 2.2, CnT III 1.14, CnT VI .15, CPS 21.56.

Also in GP 1.109.32, Vet 4.7, SRBh 155.98, SRHt 191.49, IS 2405, Subh 91. Also found in LN(P) 82, DhN(P) 252, NKy(B) 112.

(*a*) प्रेक्षणे CVK_1, CvP IV, CvP V, CSC I, CSC II, CNP II; संगरे CNP I, SRBh; भृत्यं SRHt.
(*b*) बान्धवं SRHt.
(*c*) आपत्कालेषु मित्राणि CPS, SRBh; आपत्काले च मित्राणि CR; आपत्काले तथा मित्रं CS; मित्रं चापदि काले च CRT, CvP IV, CvP V, GP, Vet (var.); मित्राणि विपदां काले Vet(var.); मित्रमापत्तिकाले च CNF, CPS IS; मित्रं हि चापदां काले CvTb; चापत्ति (°दि CNPh) काले तु $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$,

दुर्जनस्य च सर्पस्य वरं सर्पो न दुर्जनः ।
सर्पो दशति कालेन दुर्जनस्तु पदे पदे ॥ २०२ ॥
एतदर्थं कुलीनानां नृपाः कुर्वन्ति संग्रहम् ।
आदिमध्यावसानेषु न त्यजन्ति च ते नृपम् ॥ २०३ ॥
प्रलये भिन्नमर्यादा भवन्ति किल सागराः ।
सागरा भेदमिच्छन्ति प्रलयेऽपि न साधवः ॥ २०४ ॥

CVBn3, CVAh, CVK, Vet(var.); चापदि काले तु (च IS) SRHt; च विपदां काले IS; विपत्तिकाले च CNŚP, CNNSP; काले च CN (with exceptions as above), CvṢ, CvGt, CvLd, CvL II.

(*d*) विभवे क्षीणे CRT, CRBh I; विभवक्षते CNF.

202. CV 3.4. Also CvGt 2.12, CnT II 3.4, CnT III 2.8, CnT VI 30, CPS 52.5.

Also in SRBh 379.91, SuM 10.6, IS 2857.

(*a*) दुर्जने चैव सर्पे च CVP.

203. CV 3.5, Cv 2.9, CS 1.65. Also CPS 51.4.

Also in PP 1.305, Pts 1.297, PtsK 1.330, SRBh 150.334, IS 1447, CKl 38. Also see RN(P) 96-7.

(*a*) एतदर्थे PP (PP var. as above); अत एव कु° CS.
(*b*) नराः [नृ°] CvGt; दयां CS; साधवः CS (CSLd, CSC II as above).
(*d*) न ते यास्यन्ति (गच्छन्ति Pts, PP; यान्ति हि PtsK) विक्रियाम् Cv, CS, P, SRBh.

204. CV 3.6, Cv 2.10, CS 3.7. Also CnT II 3.6, CnT III 2.10, CnT VI 32 CnT V 82, CPS 54.13.

Also in SuM 28.17, SRHt 35.13, IS 4270. Also found in Vyās(C) 11; cf. RN(P) 96-7.

(*b*) खलु [कि°] CvP V, CvLd.
(*c*) मर्यादा[सा°] CvṢ, CvA, CvGt; आयान्ति[इ°] CvTb.

पण्डितेषु गुणाः सर्वे मूर्खे दोषाश्च केवलम् ।
तस्मान्मूर्खसहस्रेषु प्राज्ञ एको विशिष्यते ॥ २०५ ॥
गुणवन्तं नियुञ्जीत गुणहीनं विवर्जयेत् ।
पण्डिते च गुणाः सर्वे मूर्खे दोषाश्च केवलाः ॥ २०६ ॥
गाम्भीर्ययुक्ता मृदुमन्दवाक्या
जितेन्द्रियाः सत्यपराः सुयोग्याः ।

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205. Cv 8.12, CS 1.66, CN 2. Also CPS 354.1.
Also in HH 1.17-8, VN 4, SRBh 38.1, ŚP 201, IS 3876, Sskṛ 53. Also see RN(P) 96.7.

(*a*) पण्डिते च (हि ŚP, SRBh), CvLd, CN (CNW, CNF, CNM, CNI I as above), CPS, ŚP, SRBh, HH; पण्डितस्य GP; सन्ति CvL I.
(*b*) दोषास्तु CvṢ, CS, CNI I, CNM; दोषा हि CN (CNŚT, CNŚL, CNNM, CNW, CNPh, CNG, CNL, CNI I as above), CPS; दोषा मूर्खेषु CvW; केवलाः CvGt, GP, VN, SRBh, ŚP, CSB II, CSC I.
(*c*) तस्मात् CNM, CNI II; सहस्रेण CvGt, CvL I, CvLd, CNW, CNL, CSLd, CSC II, ŚP; सहस्रेभ्यः (°स्रेभ्यो CNF) CPS, CN, SRBh.
(*d*) धीर [प्रा°] CNF; एव CSLd; एकः प्रशस्यते CS, CNPh; न लभ्यते CvW, CvL I, CvLd, CNI I, CNG, ŚP; हि दुर्लभः CNM.

206. CR 5.33. Also CPS 120.32.
Also in GP 1.113.1. Also see RN(P) 96-7.

(*a*) प्रयु° CRB.
(*c*) पण्डिते तु CRCa I; पण्डितेषु CRC, CRT, CPS; पण्डितस्य GP, GPy.
(*d*) दोषास्त्वनेकशः CRBh I, CRP; केवलम् CRCa I.

207. CR 5.22. Also CPS 117.24.
Also in GP 1.112.18. Also found in NM(T) 6.7. Cf. DhN(P) 306-7, RN(P) 96-7.

भाव्यर्थतज्ज्ञा विदितार्थतत्त्वाः
प्रायेण भृत्याः कृतिनां भवन्ति ॥ २०७ ॥
प्राज्ञे नियोज्यमाने तु सन्ति राज्ञस्त्रयो गुणाः ।
यशः स्वर्गनिवासश्च विपुलश्च धनागमः ॥ २०८ ॥
मूर्खे नियोज्यमाने तु त्रयो दोषा महीपतेः ।
अयशश्चार्थनाशश्च नरके गमनं तथा ॥ २०९ ॥

(*a*) शूरत्वयुक्ता GP; शौण्डीर्ययुक्ता GPy.
(*b*) सत्यपराक्रमाश्च GP, GPy.
(*c*) प्रागेव पश्चाद्विपरीतरूपा GP, GPy.
(*d*) ये ते तु भृत्या न हिता भ° GP, GPy; कृतिनो CRT.

Indravajrā and Upendravajrā metre.

208. CN 83, CS 1.67, CR 5.29. Also CnT II 26.8, CnT VII 21, CPS 354.2 and 119.29.

Also in SRBh 146.78, SRHt 100.15, IS 4303. Also see RN(P) 30.

(*a*) प्राज्ञं नियोजयेत् कार्ये CR; नियोजितेऽमात्ये CNI I, SRHt; हि [तु] CNŚL, CNŚ, CNSR, CNNM, CNŚl, CPS.
(*b*) ततो CR.
(*c*) यशश्चैव तथा स्वर्गः CRC, CRT, CRCa I; स्वर्गे च वासश्च CRBh II.
(*d*) पुष्कलश्च CNG, CNI I, CNI II, CS, CR, SRHt.

209. CN 84, CS 1.68, CR 5.30. Also CnT II 26.7, CnT VII 40, CPS 360.21.

Also in GP 1.112.23, SRBh 146.179, SRHt 103.11, IS 4304. Also found in RN(P) 6.

(*a*) नियोज्य मूर्खं कार्ये च CRC; मूर्खान् नियोजयेद्यस्तु GP; नियुज्य° CNTC, CNJV, CNŚl, CNŚ, CNPh, CNI II, CRCa I; नियोजितेऽमात्ये CNI I, SRHt; योजयेत् CRBh I, CRBh II.
(*b*) त्रयोऽप्येते म° GP; राज्ञो दोषास्त्रयस्तथा CR (CRT as above).

तस्माद् भूमीश्वरो नित्यं धर्मकामार्थवृद्धये ।
गुणवन्तं नियुञ्जीत गुणहीनं विवर्जयेत् ॥ २१० ॥
दम्भाश्रितान् कपटिनो हिंस्रानुत्साहवर्जितान् ।
अशक्तान भयभीतांश्च राजा भृत्यान् विवर्जयेत् ॥ २११ ॥
क्षान्तिभक्तिविहीनश्च विपक्षो धनलोलुपः ।
अशक्तो भयभीतश्च राज्ञा त्यक्तव्य एव सः ॥ २१२ ॥
क्रूरं व्यसनिनं लुब्धमप्रगल्भं सदार्जवम् ।
अनार्यं व्ययकर्तारं नाधिपत्ये नियोजयेत् ॥ २१३ ॥

(*c*) अयशः पापवृद्धिश्च CNSS.
(*d*) चैव पातनम् [ग°] GP; पतनं [ग°] CNPh, CNI I, CNI II, CS, CR; ध्रुवम् [त°] CNG, CNI II, CS, CRT; नरकं च न संशयः SRHt.

210. CS 1.69. Also CNG 78, CNI I 274 *ac/bd*, CNPh 143 *ac/bd*.

Also in IS 4304 (notes).

(*a*) °श्वरा CNPh; ज्ञात्वा [नि°] CNI I.
(*b*) तस्मात् कामार्थसिध्यर्थं CNPh; सिद्धये [°वृ°] CSB I, CSJ, CNI I.

211. CR 5.24. Also CPS 117.25.

212. CRT 5.20. Also GP 1.112.20 *ab*.

(*ab*) दाम्भिकः पेटुकश्चैव शठश्च स्पृहयान्वितः GP. (Cf. No. 211 above.)
(*a*) °सत्य° [°भक्ति°] GP.
(*b*) क्रूरबुद्धिश्च निन्दकः GP.

213. CS 1.55, CR 5.18. Also CNG 76, CnT VII 24, CPS 115.20.

Also in ŚP 1331, SRHt 116.9, IS 7510, CKl 36.

(*a*) स्तब्धम् [लु°] SRHt.

मूर्खस्तु परिहर्तव्यः प्रत्यक्षो द्विपदः पशुः ।
भिनत्ति वाक्यशल्येन अदृष्टः कण्टको यथा ॥ २१४ ॥
बहुभिर्मूर्खसंघातैरन्योन्यपशुवृत्तिभिः ।
प्रच्छाद्यन्ते गुणाः सर्वे मेघैरिव दिवाकरः ॥ २१५ ॥

Discharge of King's Officials

तुल्यार्थं तुल्यसामर्थ्यं मन्त्रज्ञं व्यवसायिनम् ।

(*b*) अनार्जवम् CSBD; अनाकृतिम् (°तम् CRC) [स°] CR, CPS (निराकृतिम् CRBh I, CRBh II, CRP, CRCa I); अथाकुलम् ŚP; अनायकम् SRHt.

(*c*) दुर्मतिं पापकर्माणं CR, CPS; मुर्खमन्यायकर्तारं ŚP, SRHt; अनाय° CSLd, CSJ, CSB I, CSC II, CSBD.

(*d*) नाधिकारे CR.

214. CV 3.7, Cv 2.12, CS 3.31. Also CRT 8.40, CNP II 266, CNI I 83, CNG 169, CNT IV 140, CnT II 3.8, CnT III 2.12, CnT VI 34, CPS 55.16.

Also in SRBh 388.443, IS 4924, Subh 164. Cf. ShD(T) 240, Rāmamaya's Commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* 5.61-2.

(*a*) मूर्खो हि CNG, CvP IV, CvP V, CvL II; मूर्खोऽपि IS; मूर्खश्च Cv (CvGt, CvLd as above).

(*b*) प्रत्यक्षं Cv (CvGt, CvL II as above), CNG, CNI I.

(*c*) अदृष्टः कण्टको यद्वद् CvA, CvṢ (see *d*); भिद्यते CVB_1, CVB_2, $CVBn_2$, CVAh, CVG; विध्यते Cv (CvTb as above); वि° वा° tr. CvL I; °शूलेन $CVBn_2$; अदृष्टं CvL II.

(*d*) अदृश्यं $CVBn_2$; कण्टकं $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CVLd; वाक्यशल्येन विध्यति CvA, CvṢ (see *c*).

215. CN 85, CS 2.49. Also CPS 360.22.

Also in SRBh 169.716, IS 4423, Sskṛ 54.

(*b*) अन्योन्यं प° CSC II, CSLd, SRBh; अन्योन्यैः पशु° CS.

216. CR 5.21. Also CNPh 108, CNP II 197, CNI I 257, CNG 83, CNT IV 232, CnT II 6.12, CnT III 4.19, CnT VI 74, CnT VII 43, CPS 116.23.

अर्धराज्यहरं भृत्यं यो न हन्यात् स हन्यते ॥ २१६ ॥
कण्टकस्य विमग्नस्य दन्तस्य चलितस्य च ।
अमात्यस्य च दुष्टस्य मूलादुद्धरणं सुखम् ॥ २१७ ॥
अलसं मुखरं स्तब्धं क्रूरं व्यसनिनं शठम् ।
असंतुष्टमभक्तं च त्यजेद् भृत्यं नराधिपः ॥ २१८ ॥

Also in GP 1.112.17, Pts 1.248, PtsK 1.278, SRBh 146.156, ŚP 1367, IS 2584, VP 9.114. Also found in NM(T) 6.16.

(*b*) मर्मज्ञं GP, GPy, CNP II, CNPh, CNI I, CNG, Pts, PtsK, ŚP (better); सर्वज्ञं SRBh.
(*d*) यो ह° स न ह° tr. GP, GPy.

217. CR 8.71. Also CPS 242.62.

Also in PS 1.59, PN 2.43, PT 1.58, PTem 1.65, PP 1.222, PRE 1.67, HS 2.128 (cf. 4.98), HS 2.122, HM 2.129, HP 2.115, HN 2.114, HK 2.127, HH 63.5-6, HC 83.17-8, SRBh 147.210, SV 2805, IS 1506.

(*a*) विषदिग्धस्य भक्तस्य (कण्टकस्य च PP; कण्टकस्य तु PT; भुक्तस्य HK (var.), C in HP; च भुक्तस्य HP; च भुक्तस्य च N in HP; भक्ष्यस्य PS[NBCE in PS भक्तस्य]; भग्नस्य PP, PT) H,P, SRBh, निमग्नस्य CRB.
(*b*) रोगस्य [द°] CRBh II; गणितस्य CRP, CRBh I, CRC, CPS; विषस्य H in PS.
(*c*) शत्रोश्च कृतवैरस्य CRP, CRBh I, CRBh II; अमान्यस्य CRC, CPS.
(*d*) उद्धारणं CRBh II, HS; वरम् [सु°] HH, SV.

218. Cv 4.15, CR 5.17, CS 1.74. Also CNF 68, CNPh 33, CNPN 16, CNG 123, CnT III 4.17, CnT V 72, CnT VIII 23, CPS 115.19.

Also in ŚP 1329, SRHt 132.2, IS 639, Subh 192. Cf. Śto 321.28.

(*ab*) स्त° क्रू° tr. CNF, CS, CR, ŚP.
(*b*) विकृतिनिस्सहम् CvL II.

Ministers and High Officials

कुलशीलगुणोपेतः सर्वधर्मपरायणः ।
प्रवीणः प्रेषणाध्यक्षो धर्माध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥ २१९ ॥
मूलवृत्तिहितो धीरः सर्वरत्नपरीक्षकः ।
शुचिश्च व्यवसायी च भाण्डाध्यक्षो महीपतेः ॥ २२० ॥
प्रवीणः स्वामिनो भक्तः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।
अलुब्धः स्वधनैस्तृप्तो गञ्जाध्यक्षो महीपतेः ॥ २२१ ॥

(*c*) अशक्तं IS.
(*d*) नराधिप CSJ; नराधिपम् CSC II.

219. CN 100, CS 1.54, CR 5.3. Also CPS 108.3.
Also in GP 1.112.4, SRBh 142.19, SRHt 142.2 (ascribed to Kāmandaki), IS 1830. Also found in RN(P) 10. Cf. Ślt(OJ) 20.

(*b*) सत्य° CNPN, CNI I, CS, CPS, SRHt.
(*c*) रूपवान् सुप्रसन्नश्च CRT, GP; प्रधानः CNŚl; प्रेक्षणे दक्षो SRHt; प्रवीणः पेशलो दक्षो CS.
(*d*) राजभृत्योऽभिधीयते CNI I; सेनाध्यक्षो महीपतेः CR, CPS; कोषाध्यक्षो वि° GP; राजाध्यक्षो CS, CRT, GPy, SRHt.

220. CS 1.56, CR 5.4. Also CNG 72.
Also in GP 1.112.5, CKl 36. (Cf. IS 6477, Subh 299, ŚP 1335, RT 1. 119.)

(*a*) मूल्यरूपपरीक्षाकृद् CRT, GP; शीलवृत्तधरो Subh; पुत्रपौत्रगुणोपेतः CNG; वृत्तो CSJ.
(*b*) भवेद् CRT, GP.
(*c*) शुचिरव्यभिचारी च CNG, CRBh II, Subh; बलाबलपरिज्ञाता GP; धैर्यवीर्यगुणोपेतः CRT.
(*d*) कोषा° CSBD; कोशा° CS; धर्मा° CSLd, CSJ, CSB I, CSB II; cf. CKl 37; सेना° CRT, GP; धना° CKl 37; विधीयते CS; ऽभिधीयते Subh.

221. CR 5.9. Also CPS 111.9.
Cf. K II 11, ŚP 1335, Śukr 2.152, IS 4274.

समस्तकृतशास्त्रज्ञः पण्डितश्च जितश्रमः ।
धैर्यशौर्यगुणोपेतः सेनाध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥ २२२ ॥
समस्तहयशास्त्रज्ञो वाहनेषु जितश्रमः ।
शौर्यवीर्यगुणोपेतः अश्वाध्यक्षो विधीयते ॥ २२३ ॥

(*a*) स्वामिभक्तश्च CRC, CPS; स्वामिने दक्ष: CRBh I.
(*b*) निरामय: [जि°] CRBh II.
(*c*) अलुब्धोऽल्पध° CRC, CPS.
(*d*) गजा° [ग°] CRC, CPS (superintendent of elephants; does not make sense); गुञ्जा° CRBh II (superintendent of *guñja* plant; does not make sense at all); ऽभिधीयते CRBh I, CRP.

222. CS 1.61.
Also in IS 6841. See RN(P) 15-6.

(*a*) °युद्ध° [°कृ°] CSBD; °हय° [°कृ°] CSC I.
(*b*) वाहनेष्वपराजित: CSC I.
(*d*) अश्वाध्यक्षो CSC I.

223. Cv 4.13, CS 1.62, CN 103. Also CnT II 6.8, CnT III 4.15, CnT VI 70.

Also in GP 1.112.9, SRBh 143.33, IS 6841, Sskr 55. (Cf. MBh 1.170; 1.174; 12.72; 12.85; etc. *Matsya-purāṇa* 215.8-10, 25-9, *Viṣṇudharmottara* 2.24.4-6, *Agni-purāṇa* 220.1, KN 18.27-43, K II 33, *Mānasollāsa* 2.2.90-2.) Also found in NM(T) 7.15.

(*a*) °शास्त्रशा° CN (or °नीति°); °कृतशा° CvP V; °स्मृतिशा° GP; °ज्ञ: GP.
(*b*) वाहने च जि° (विजि° CNŚM) CNŚIV, CNŚM; पण्डितोऽथ जितेन्द्रिय: GP; पण्डितश्च जितश्रम: IS; °नेष्वपराजित: CSC I, CSBD, CSJ; जिताश्रम: CNŚIV, CNŚJ, CNSS, CNŚB, CNŚIC, CNŚJ, CNNA, CNŚIK.
(*c*) शौर्यधैर्यगु° CvTb; गुणोपेतो GP.
(*d*) धर्माध्यक्षो GP; °ध्यक्ष: स उच्यते CSBD; सेनाध्यक्षो CN.

इङ्गिताकारतत्त्वज्ञो बलवान् प्रियदर्शनः ।
अप्रमादी सदा दक्षः प्रतीहारः स उच्यते ॥ २२४ ॥
अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमान् कृतज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रवित् ।
धीमानायतिदर्शी च मन्त्री राज्ञः सुसन्निधिः ॥ २२५ ॥
सकृदुक्तगृहीतार्थो लघुहस्तो जिताक्षरः ।
सर्वशास्त्रसमालोकी प्रकृष्टो नाम लेखकः ॥ २२६ ॥
मेधावी वाक्पटुः प्राज्ञः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।

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224. CN 106, CR 5.5, CS 1.60. Also CPS 110.4.
Also in GP 1.112.6, SRBh 144.76, IS 1089, ŚP 1337, Subh 299, Sskṛ 53. Also found in RN(P) 12. Also see NM(T) 7.14.

(*b*) प्रियवाक् Subh.
(*c*) अप्रमादः CNŚIV, CSLd; समयज्ञः स्वामिभक्तः ŚP, SRBh; प्रमाथी च GP.
(*d*) प्रतीहारी SRBh; प्रशस्यते [स उ°] Subh; सम् [स] CRBh II; इष्यते [उ°] SRBh; भूपतेः CRP.

225. CR 5.15. Also CPS 114.16.

(*a*) °सूत्रो विज्ञश्च CRT; °सूत्री CPS.

226. CN 102, CS 1.59.
Also in SRBh 144.75, IS 6654, Sskṛ 55. (Cf. *Matsya-purāṇa* ch. 189 in ŚKDr *ad* लेखक; ŚP 1336, SRHt 142.2.) Also found in NM(T) 7.19. Also see RN(P) 14.

(*b*) लघुदीर्घ° CNI II; जितेन्द्रियः SRBh.
(*c*) सर्वशास्त्रसमानेता CNI II; शब्दशास्त्रपरिज्ञाता SRBh; °समालोची (°डी IS) CNI II.
(*d*) एष वै लेखकः स्मृतः CNF; एष लेखक उच्यते (इष्यते SRBh) CS, SRBh; एष शासनले° CNPh, CNI I, प्र . . . लिपिले° CNI II.

227. Cv 4.12, CR 5.6. Also CPS 110.5.
Also in GP 1.112.7, IS 4977 (v.l.), ŚP 1336 (v.l.), Subh 136 (v.l.)

सर्वशास्त्रसमालोकी एष साधुः स लेखकः ॥ २२७ ॥
आयुर्वेदकृताभ्यासः सर्वेषां प्रियदर्शनः ।
आर्यशीलगुणोपेत एष वैद्यो विधीयते ॥ २२८ ॥
वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञो जपहोमपरायणः ।
आशीर्वादपरो नित्यमेष राज्ञः पुरोहितः ॥ २२९ ॥

(*a*) स्फुटवाक्यपटुः CvP IV; °पटुर्धीरो ŚP.
(*b*) सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः CvṢ, CvA, CvL I, CvL II; लघुहस्तो जि° ŚP.
(*c*) सर्वस्य हि समो लोके CvṢ, CvA, CvL I, CvL II; सर्वस्य हितकारी च CvP V, CvLd, CvW; सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञो CR (CRT as above), CPS; परशास्त्रपरिज्ञाता ŚP.
(*d*) एष लेखक उच्यते CvL II; ह्येष GP; लिपिज्ञः साधुले° CR, CPS; °धुश्च CvP IV, CvP V, CvTb.

228. Cv 4.11, CR 5.11, CS 1.57, CN 101. Also CnT II 6.5, CnT III 4.12, CnT VI 67, CnT VIII 30, CPS 112.11 *ab*.

Also in GP 1.112.11, SRBh 142.20, IS 999, Subh 91. Also found in RN(P) 18.

(*a*) आयुर्वेदे कृ° CNŚlV.
(*b*) सुवेषः CvṢ; सर्वत्र CR, CvP IV, CvGt, CPS; सर्वज्ञः CS, CvTb, CNI I, CNG, CRBh II, GP, SRHt, Subh; शास्त्रज्ञः CNI II; समद° CRB.
(*c*) सुशीलश्च CR; उक्ति° CvṢ, CvTb, CvA, CvW; आयुः °पेतो GP; कुलशीलगुणोपेतः CNPh; युक्तो CvGt.
(*d*) प्राज्ञश्च भिषगुच्यते CR (CRT as above); वैद्यो राज्ञः स उच्यते CvGt; वैद्य एष GP; स च [ए°] CNPh; ऽभिधीयते CNI I.

229. Cv 4.8, CR 5.13, CS 1.52, CN 99. Also CnT II 6.2, CnT III 4.9, CnT V 64, CnT I 25, CPS 113.13.

Also in GP 1.112.12, SRBh 142.18, ŚRHt 98.4, ŚP 1333, IS 6269, Subh 300. Also found in RN(P) 20, NM(T) 7.9. (Cf. Pras 28.6.)

(*a*) °सिद्धान्त° [°वेदाङ्ग°] Subh.

ज्ञानविज्ञानसंपन्नः प्रियवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।
सम्यग् विद्योपदेशी च शुचिराचार्य उच्यते ॥ २३० ॥
लेखकः पाठकश्चैव गणकः प्रतिबोधकः ।
ग्रहमन्त्रप्रयोक्ता च कालज्ञो राज्ञ उच्यते ॥ २३१ ॥
गणितज्ञो लिपेर्वक्ता श्रुतिस्मृतिपरायणः ।
ब्राह्मणो ग्रहमन्त्रज्ञो देववत् सोऽपि राध्यकः ॥ २३२ ॥
खञ्जः कुब्जो मन्दबुद्धिर्वृद्धोऽशक्तो जितेन्द्रियः ।
निस्पृहश्च प्रयोक्तव्यो राज्ञोऽन्तःपुररक्षकः ॥ २३३ ॥
पितृपैतामहो दक्षः शास्त्रज्ञो मिष्टपाचकः ।
सत्यशौचसमायुक्तः सूपकारः स उच्यते ॥ २३४ ॥

(*c*) आशीर्वादवचोयुक्त CNTC, CNŚJ, CNJV, CNŚM, CNNA, CNNS, CNŚA, CNŚB, CNSS, CNŚC, CNŚIC, CNŚIK, CNNSS, CvṢ, CvA; °करो IS.

(*d*) पार्थिवस्य CR (CRT as above); राज° CN, CvṢ, CvL I, GP, SRBh, SRHt; राज्ञां CvL II.

230. CR 5.12. Also CPS 112.12.

231. CR 5.14. Also CPS 113.11.
Also in GP 1.112.13. (Cf. KN 4.33.)

(*c*) आलस्ययुक्तश्चेद्राजा GP; °प्रयुक्तश्च CRCa I.

(*d*) कर्मणो वर्जयेत् सदा GP, GPy.

232. CRC 5.15.

233. CR 5.16. Also CPS 114.18.

(*b*) ऽसक्तो CRC, CRT.

234. Cv 4.10, CR 5.10, CS 1.58, CN 105. Also CnT II 6.4, CnT III 4.11, CnT VI 66, CnT VIII 29, CPS 112.10.

Also in GP 1.112.10, SRBh 144.77, SRK 225.50, IS 4111. (Cf. ŚKDr *ad* पाचक.) Also found in NM(T) 7.16.

(*a*) पुत्रपौत्रगुणोपेतः CN; पित्राद्या यस्य दक्षाः स्युः CvTb.

मेधावी वाक्पटुः प्राज्ञः परचित्तोपलक्षकः ।
धीरो यथोक्तवादी च एष दूतो विधीयते ॥ २३५ ॥
प्रगल्भो बुद्धिमान् वक्ता परचित्तोपलक्षकः ।
धीरो यथोक्तवादी च दूत इत्यभिधीयते ॥ २३६ ॥

(*b*) परचित्तोपलक्षक: CvLd; शास्त्रज्ञ: सत्यवाचक: GP.
(*c*) शौचयुक्त: प्रभोर्भक्त: CR; शौचयुक्त: सदाचारी GPy; शौचयुक्त-स्तीर्थसेवी CvGt; शुचिश्च कठिनश्चैव (°श्चाकठि° CSBD, CSLd, CSJ, CSB I; व्यवसायी च CSB II, CNG) CS, CN, GP.
(*d*) °कारोऽभिधीयते CR; विधीयते CRT.

235. CN 104, CS 1.63. Also CvP IV 4.9, CvP V 4.9, CvTb 4.12, CnT II 6.6 & 26.3, CnT III 4.13, CnT VI 68, CnT VII 27.

Also in SRBh 144.69, IS 4976, Sskṛ 65, Subh 136 v.l. (Cf. K 1.16, MBh 1.170; 1.174; 12.72; 12.85; etc. *Matsya-purāṇa* 215.12-3 and in VīrR 180, Mn 7.63-4, MBh and *Viṣṇudharmottara* in VīrL 226, KN 12.2, ŚP 1336, GP 1.112.8, Subh 299, RN(P) 13.) Also found in NM(T) 7.8.

(*a*) प्रवीण: प्रेक्षणे दक्ष: CvP V, CvTb, CvP IV.
(*b*) सर्वभावपरीक्षक: CNG; सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रिय: CvP V.
(*d*) राजदूतोऽभिधीयते CvP V.

236. CR 5.8. Also CPS 111.8.
Also in GP 1.112.8. (Cf. note to No. 235.)

(*a*) बुद्धिमान् मतिमांश्चैव CRT, GP, GPy.
(*c*) यथा [धी°] CRBh; संधौ CRT; क्रूरो GP, GPy.
(*d*) एष दूतो विधी° CRT, GP, GPy.

V. KING'S SUBJECTS

आज्ञाभङ्गो नरेन्द्राणां विप्राणां मानखण्डना ।
पृथक् शय्या च नारीणामशस्त्रविहितो वधः ॥ २३७ ॥
सकृज्जल्पन्ति राजानः सकृज्जल्पन्ति पण्डिताः ।
सकृत् कन्याः प्रदीयन्ते त्रीण्येतानि सकृत् सकृत् ॥ २३८ ॥

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237. CNP II 211. Also CnT II 12.4, CnT III 7.38, CnT V 65.

Also in HJ 2.84, HS 2.52, HM 2.85, HH 48.3-4, HC 70.7-8, VCsr 5.4, VCmr 5.62-3, VCbr 5.2, VCjr 5.6, MK 21, PrC 1.22, IS 878, SRBh 158.249. (Cf. KN 13.66.)

(*b*) ब्राह्मणानामनादरः H (°रं HK, HH); विदुषां VCmr; महतां VCjr; °खण्डनम् VCsr, VCmr, VCjr, SRBh; अवज्ञा विदुषां तथा N in VCsr; वृत्तिच्छेदोऽनुजीविनाम् PrC.

(*c*) मर्मवाक्यं च लोकानाम् VCjr.

(*d*) अशस्त्र° (°स्त्रो Dn in VCmr, H in VCjr, PrC) वध उच्यते VC, PrC, SRBh.

238. CV 4.11. Also CNP I 21, CNG 262, CNT IV 20, CNM 21, CNMN 21, CnT II 22.10, CnT III 56.3, CPS 100.50.

Also in PP 1.379, *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, Uttaraparvan, 4.102.29, Vet 4.29, VCmr 2.70-1, SRBh 377.18, IS 6650. (Cf. Mn 9.47.) See also LN(P) 120, NKy(B) 148.

(*a*) फलन्ति a in Vet.

(*b*) फलन्ति a in Vet; साधवः [प°] CNP I, CNG, Vet (d in Vet as above), SRBh; देवताः [प°] VC.

(*c*) कन्याप्रदानं तु VC; प्रदीयेत CNM, CNMN.

लोको यथा किल तथा न हि भूपतिः स्यात्
सद्भूपतिः खलु यथैव तथैव लोकाः ।
धर्मप्रवृत्तिरथ तद्विपरीतवृत्तिः
कृत्स्ने जने नरपतिः प्रभवत्यशेषम् ॥ २३९ ॥
माता यदि विषं दद्यात् पित्रा विक्रीयते सुतः ।
राजा हरति सर्वस्वं को मे त्राता भविष्यति ॥ २४० ॥
यत्र राजा स्वयं चौरः समन्त्री सपुरोहितः ।
तत्राहं किं करिष्यामि यतो रक्षा ततो भयम् ॥ २४१ ॥
राज्ञि धर्मिणि धर्मिष्ठाः पापे पापाः समे समाः ।

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239. CRC 4.56, CRB 4.46. Also CPS 90.22.
Vasantatilakā metre.

240. CS 3.68. Also CNP II 51, CNI I 187.
Also in Vet 4.25 & 19.20, MK 20, SRHt 237.16, SRBh 158.219, IS 4798.

(*a*) पिता CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC II, CSJ, CNI I, CNP II, Vet 4.25 (v.l.) (better); विक्रीणाति पिता सुतम् SRBh; विक्रीणीते सुतं पिता D in Vet; सुतं CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ, CNP II, Vet 4.25 (v.l.), CNI I; यदा [सु°] A_2 in Vet 4.25.

(*c*) करोति चान्यायं CSLd, CSB I, CSB II, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ.

(*d*) का तत्र (त° का tr. SRBh) परिदेवना (°वेदना CNI, Vet 4.25 (v.l.); प्रतिवेदना Vet 4.25 v.l.) CNI I, Vet, SRBh.

241. CS 3.69.
Also in IS 5069, Kt in IS 5069 (N. 1).

(*b*) सामात्यः Kt.

(*d*) यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः Kt.

242. CV 13.7, CL 2.7, CS 2.2. Also CRC 4.57, CRB 4.47, CRBh II 4.39, CNP I 89, CNP II 277, CNI I 279, CNG 260, CNT IV 90, CNM 88, CPS 314.22. (Cf. CLI 3.7.)

राजानमनुवर्तन्ते यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः ॥ २४२ ॥
राजा राष्ट्रकृतं पापं राज्ञः पापं पुरोहितः ।
भर्ता च स्त्रीकृतं पापं शिष्यपापं गुरुस्तथा ॥ २४३ ॥
सिंहरूपेण राजानो व्याघ्ररूपेण मन्त्रिणः ।
भृत्यश्च गृध्ररूपेण क्षयं यास्यन्ति वै प्रजाः ॥ २४४ ॥

Also in BhPr 44 (Banarsidass ed.), SRBh 145.99, IS 5768, Kt 154, ŚP 1226. (Cf. R 2.109.9, Bombay ed.)

(*a*) धर्मज्ञाः CLB, CLT, CSLd, CSC I, CSJ.
(*c*) लोकास् (प्रजास् CLṢ) तम् (तद् CNP II, CNM, CLP II, CLL II) अनुवर्तन्ते CNP I, CNP II, CNM, CLP II, CLL II, CLṢ, CLA; °वर्तेरन् CRC.
(*d*) प्रजा CNI I, CLTb, CLL I.

243. CV 6.9. Also CNP I 56, CNP II 82, CNT IV 56. CPS 170.100.

Also in VCjr 25.1. 4-5 p. 328b, SRBh 392.595, IS 5769, Subh 173, TP 457. (Cf. *Dampatiśikṣānāmaka* 43.)

(*a*) राशि IS.
(*b*) राजपापं पुरोहिते IS.
(*c*) भर्तरि IS, Subh; भर्तुः CNMN; भर्तुः स्त्रीणां कृतं पापं CNP I.
(*d*) गुरोर्भवेत् CNP I, CNP II; गुरोरपि CNPN; गुरावपि IS.

244. CL 6.1.
Also in CM 174.

VI. VARIA

नक्षत्रभूषणं चन्द्रो नारीणां भूषणं पतिः ।
पृथिवीभूषणं राजा विद्या सर्वस्य भूषणम् ॥ २४५ ॥
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ २४६ ॥

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245. CN 6, CS 3.77. Also CVAh 11.21, CPS 356.7.
Also in SRBh 161.342, IS 3212. (Cf. GP 1.112.13.) Also see DhN(P) 254.

(*a*) ताराणां भू° CNJV, CNŚl, CNŚ; शर्वरी° CNTC, CNŚT, CNSR, CNŚ, CNŚIK, CNŚL, CNŚIV, CNŚIB, CNŚPK, CPS.
(*c*) पृथिव्या भू° CNJV, CNŚl, CNS.
(*d*) शीलं सर्वस्य CS; सर्वत्र CNPN, CNL, CNI II.

246. CVNS 16.21.
Also in MBh 12.68.40 (Bhandarkar ed.), Mn 7.8, NPr 8.5, HJ 2.81, HS 2.80, HM 2.82, HP 2.74, HN 2.73, HK 2.82, HH 52.8-9, HC 68.15-16, DhSP 1.1.448.7-8 & 3.1.4.1-2, VīrR 17.21-2, RRK 68.16-7, SRBh 142.8, IS 4446.

(*ab*) न हि जात्ववमन्तव्यो मनुष्यैरिति भूमिप: MBh.
(*b*) भूपति: HP.
(*c*) पूज्या P in HS.
(*d*) ऽनन्तरूपेण B in DhSP 3.1.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but borrowed from Mn.

एतदर्थं हि सौमित्रे राज्यमिच्छन्ति भूभृतः ।
यदेषां सर्वकार्येषु वचो न प्रतिहन्यते ॥ २४७ ॥
यच्छक्तावप्युपेक्षन्ते कदाचित् तत्र कारणम् ।
समूलकाषं कषितुमुपायोऽसौ न मूढता ॥ २४८ ॥
आज्ञामात्रफलं राज्यं ब्रह्मचर्यफलं तपः ।
ज्ञानमात्रफला विद्या दत्तभुक्तफलं धनम् ॥ २४९ ॥
अवंशपतितो राजा मूर्खपुत्रश्च पण्डितः ।
अधनेन धनं प्राप्य तृणवन्मन्यते जगत् ॥ २५० ॥

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247. CR 4.16. Also CPS 86.10.
Also in R 2.52.25, GP 1.111.13, SRHt 89.1.

(*a*) विप्रेन्द्रा GP, GPy; राज्यानि [सौ°] R; राजानः SRHt.
(*b*) प्रशासति नराधिपाः R; भूभुजः CRC, CRB, CPS.
(*c*) यद्ये° CRBh II; °कृत्येषु R, SRHt.
(*d*) वाचा CRC; मनो [व°] R, SRHt; परिहन्यते CRBh II.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but influenced by R.

248. CR "E". Also CPS 86.11.
Also in SV 2677.

(*b*) किंचित् तत्रास्ति का° CRC, CPS; अपकारिणम् [त° का°] SV.

249. CNG 311. Also CnT II 12.5, CnT III 7.39, CnT V 66.
Also in VCsr 11.2, VCmr 5.60-1, VCjr 5.5, SRBh 157.196, IS 880.

(*c*) परिज्ञानफला VCmr, VCjr, SRBh.
(*d*) दानभुक्ति° Q in VCsr; भोग Ś in VCjr.

250. CN 79. Also CvH 8.12, CvL I 8.21, CvL II 8.15, CPS 372.59.
Also in SRBh 162.412, IS 653, Subh 209.

(*a*) अवंशजनितो CNW.

शास्त्रार्थचक्षुषा विद्वान् नरेन्द्रा नीतिचक्षुषा ।
वेदार्थचक्षुषा विप्रा इतरे चर्मचक्षुषा ॥ २५१ ॥

गन्धेन गावः पश्यन्ति वेदैः पश्यन्ति ब्राह्मणाः ।
चारैः पश्यन्ति राजानश्चक्षुर्भ्यामितरे जनाः ॥ २५२ ॥

गन्धः सुवर्णे फलमिक्षुदण्डे
नाकारि पुष्पं खलु चन्दनस्य ।
विद्वान् धनाढ्यो नृपतिश्चिरायु-
र्धातुः पुरा कोऽपि न बुद्धिदोऽभूत् ॥ २५३ ॥

(*b*) मूर्खस्य प° पुत्रः CNŚ, CNNA; पुत्रो हि CNI I; पुत्रस्तु CNSS, CNF; पण्डितः सुतः CNŚlB.
(*c*) अधनो हि CNW, CNG; अधनश्च CNŚ, CNŚT, CNNM, CNŚlK, CNŚlB, CPS; निर्धनो हि CNF; निर्धनेन CNI I; धनं प्राप्तं CNP I, CNP II, CNI I.
(*d*) तृणवत् CNJV; तृणवद् CNTC.

251. CS 2.1.
Also in IS 6450, CKl 42.

(*b*) चारच° CSB I, CSBD, CSLd, CSJ, CSC II; चक्षुषः CSBD, CKl.

252. CNP II 117.
Also in MBh 5.33.33, Pts 3.67, PtsK 3.64, PP 3.58, Vet after 12.6 in C and after 23.60.24 in D, MK III *bis*, SRHt 236.9, VCsr 8.1', VCjr 8.2, IS 2084.

(*a*) गावो गन्धेन VCsr, VCmr.
(*b*) वेदेनैव (वेदैरेव Q in VCsr) द्विजातयः VCsr; शास्त्रैः पश्यन्ति पण्डिताः CVjr (गावो गन्धेन OF in VCjr); वै द्विजाः [ब्रा°] Pts.
(*c*) चरैः VCjr (ŚR as above).

253. CV 9.3. Also CRB 8.14, CPS 269.16.
Also in SRBh 173.853, IS 2081.

रङ्कं करोति राजानं राजानं रङ्कमेव च ।
धनिनं निर्धनं चैव निर्धनं धनिनं विधिः ॥ २५४ ॥
अहिं नृपं च शार्दूलं किटिं च बालकं तथा ।
परश्वानं च मूर्खं च सप्त सुप्तान् न बोधयेत् ॥ २५५ ॥
विद्यार्थी सेवकः पान्थः क्षुधार्तो भयकातरः ।
भाण्डारी प्रतिहारी च सप्त सुप्तान् प्रबोधयेत् ॥ २५६ ॥
आत्मद्वेषाद् भवेन्मृत्युः परद्वेषाद् धनक्षयः ।
राजद्वेषाद् भवेन्नाशो ब्रह्मद्वेषात् कुलक्षयः ॥ २५७ ॥

(*b*) चन्दने च CVK$_1$; चन्दनेषु SRBh.
(*c*) न तु दीर्घजीवी SRBh; most texts have नृपदीर्घजीवी or च नृपश्रि° ; my change to नृपतिश्चिरायुः .

Indravajrā metre.

254. CV 10.5. Also CPS 270.18.

(*d*) तथा [वि°] CVB$_1$, CVB$_2$, CVP.

255. CV 9.7. Also CnT V 120, CPS 272.2.
Also in IS 827.

256. CV 9.6. Also CPS 272.1.
Also in SRBh 392.610, IS 6096. (Cf. *Vyavahārapradīpa* in ŚKDr *ad* भाण्डारिन्).

(*a*) क्षुधितस्तृषितः कामी VyPr.
(*b*) विद्यार्थी कृषिकारकः VyPr.
(*c*) प्रतिहारश्च CVBn$_1$, CVBn$_3$, CVK$_1$, CPS; च प्रवासी [प्र°] VyPr.

257. CV 10.11. Also CPS 280.24.
Also in IS 889.

(*a*) Most texts have आप्त°; my change to आत्मद्वे°.
(*c*) राजद्वेषात् सर्वनाशो CVP.

वसन्ति नगरे देवास्तथा ग्रामेऽधमा जनाः ।
ग्रामान्तरे पिशाचाश्च ग्राममध्ये तु राक्षसाः ॥ २५८ ॥

विनयं राजपुत्रेभ्यः पण्डितेभ्यः सुभाषितम् ।
अनृतं द्यूतकारेभ्यः स्त्रीभ्यः शिक्षेत कैतवम् ॥ २५९ ॥

राजा वेश्या यमो ह्यग्निस्तस्करो बालयाचकौ ।
परदुःखं न जानन्ति ह्यष्टमो ग्रामकूटकः ॥ २६० ॥

कोऽर्थान् प्राप्य न गर्वितो विषयिणः कस्यापदोऽस्तं गताः
स्त्रीभिः कस्य न खण्डितं भुवि मनः को नाम राज्ञां प्रियः ।
कः कालस्य न गोचरत्वमगमत् कोऽर्थी गतो गौरवं
को वा दुर्जनवागुरासु पतितः क्षेमेण यातः पथि ॥ २६१ ॥

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258. CNP I 61, CNP II 87, CNT IV 61, CNM 61.
Also in CM 149.

(*c*) ग्रामकुले CNP II.

259. CV 12.17. Also CNP I 61, CNP II 107, CNI I 252, CNT IV 68, CNM 67, CNMN 57, CPS 305.40.
Also in SRBh 159.274, IS 6127, Subh 199.

(*c*) कुट्टिन्या अनृतं कार्यं CNM, CNMN.

260. CV 17.19. Also CNI I 347, CPS 352.13.
Also in SRBh 392.606, IS 5762, Subh 158.

(*a*) वैश्यो CVB_2; यमश्चाग्निः $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, CVK_1, CVLd, CPS, SRBh; वह्निस् CVP, CNI.
(*b*) चौरो बालकयाचकाः $CVBn_2$, CNI.

261. CV 16.4, CR 2.24. Also CPS 337.16.
Also in PS 1.79, PN 2.58, PT 1.82, PTem 1.90, PP 1.109, Pts 1.146, PtsK 1.162, PRE 1.89, HJ 2.152, HS 2.144, HM 2.153, HP 2.140, HN 2.139, HK 2.151, HH 66.21-4, HC 88.7-10, VCsr VI 15, Śts 85.5-9, GP 1.109.18, ṢR 2, SRBh 178.1011, ŚP 1534, SV 3470, IS 1942, Subh 69. (Cf. KSS 10.60.139.)

काके शौचं द्यूतकारेषु सत्यं
सर्पे क्षान्तिः स्त्रीषु कामोपशान्तिः ।
क्लीबे धैर्यं मद्यपे तत्त्वचिन्ता
राजा मित्रं केन दृष्टं श्रुतं वा ॥ २६२ ॥

(*a*) गर्हितो N in PS; भुवि नरः CR, PS (NAB in PS as above), PT, PRE, GP, SRBh, SV; व्यसनिनः E in VC; °पदस्तं PT (PTem as above), P in Śts; गता CVG, CVB, CVP, CRBh II, PT; नागताः GP, ṢR; भुवि नरो गर्वच्युतः को नरः CRT.

(*b*) कस्य स्त्रीभिरखण्डितं भु° NABC in PS, V in VC; ननु PS, N in VC; शुचि Q in VC; वत (or ब°) CR, SV, SRBh; वास्ति HM, HK, HH; चास्ति IS; राज° CVG, CVB_1, CVP_1, E in VC; राज्ञः CVK_1.

(*c*) न गोचरान्तरगतः CRT, HN, PS, PT, PP, Pts, PRE, Śts, GP, ṢR; गोचरो धनकृते को CR, SV, SRBh.

(*d*) दुर्गणेषु [°वागु°] $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CVB_1, CVP; दुर्गमे निप° CPS; वागुरानि° PT, PRE, GP, ṢR, SRBh, ŚP, SV; यातो गृहम् CRP, SV, SRBh, CRBh II; पुमान् [पथि] CR, P, H, VC, GP, Śts, ṢR.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

262. CNP II 25, CNG 325, CNI I 236 *ac/bd*, CnT II 27.5, CnT III 54.

Also in PP 1.110, Pts 1.147, PtsK 1.163, VCsr VI.16 *ac/bd*, Śts 20.7-8 (CC, *cb/ad*), Śto 334.4-5, Vet 13.3, MK 51, SRBh 172.813, SV 3240 *ac/bd*, IS 1618, Subh 175 & 206.

(*a*) द्यूतकारे च PP (v.l.), Śts, Śto, VCsr (N in VCsr as above), SRBh; कामुके सत्यवाक्यं TNd in VCsr.

(*b*) ज्ञाने भ्रान्तिः स्त्री° SV.

(*c*) भेदे [क्ली°] N in VC; शौर्यं TJ in VC.

(*d*) राज्ञां VCsr; राज्ञो Śto.

Śālinī metre.

न राज्ञा सह मित्रत्वं न सर्पो निर्विषः क्वचित् ।
न कुलं निर्मलं तत्र स्त्रीजनो यत्र जायते ॥ २६३ ॥
का प्रीतिः सह मार्जारैः का प्रीतिरवनीपतौ ।
गणिकाभिश्च का प्रीतिः का प्रीतिर्भिक्षुकैः सह ॥ २६४ ॥
नास्ति मैत्रं नरेन्द्रैश्च नास्ति मैत्रं खलैः सह ।
नास्ति मैत्रमबोधैश्च न च क्रीडा भुजंगमैः ॥ २६५ ॥
स्त्रीषु राजसु सर्पेषु स्वाध्याये शत्रुविग्रहे ।
अग्नौ दुर्जने विश्वासं कः प्राज्ञः कर्तुमर्हति ॥ २६६ ॥

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263. CRT 3.6, CRBh II 3.43, CRCa I 3.30, CvP IV 8.17, CvTb 8.17, CNG 55, CNM 147, CNPN 173, CM 85.

Also in GP 1.110.9.

264. CL 5.1. Also CnT V 72.

Also in SRBh 167.648, IS 1635, Subh 138. Also see NM(T) 4.18.

(*a*) का वै प्रीतिस्तु मा° CLB, CLT; प्रीतिश्च CLP IV.
(*b*) अवनीपतेः CLṢ, CLA, CLL I, IS; अवनीभुजा CLP IV.
(*d*) का प्री° tr. CLT, CLB; भिक्षुभिः CLT, CLB.

265. CNW 103, CNPh 73.

Also in IS 3677.

(*a*) मैत्री नरेन्द्रेण CNPh.
(*b*) मैत्री खलेन च CNPh.
(*c*) नास्तिकैः सह नो मैत्री CNPh.
(*d*) नास्ति मैत्री च योषिताम् CNPh.

266. CNG 151, CRT 7.25.

Also in MBh 5.36.57, GP 1.114.46, IS 7217. Also found in SS(OJ) 392.

(*a*) राजाग्निसर्पेषु CRT, GP.
(*b*) हिंस्रे च CRT; स्वाध्यायप्रभुशत्रुषु MBh; शत्रुसेवने CRT, GP.
(*c*) भोगास्वादेषु CRT, GP; भोगेष्वायुषि वि° MBh, IS.

This is probably not an original Cāṇakya maxim, but influenced by MBh.

नखिनां च नदीनां च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रपाणिनाम् ।
विश्वासो नैव कर्तव्यः स्त्रीषु राजकुलेषु च ॥ २६७ ॥
भेतव्यमकुलीनानां राजपरोपजीविनाम् ।
भेतव्यं ज्ञातशत्रूणां ज्ञात्वा पूर्वापकारिणम् ॥ २६८ ॥

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267. CV 1.15, Cv 1.16, CS 3.48, CR 2.21, CN 25. Also CnT II 2.5, CnT III 1.17, CnT VI 18, CPS 23.61.

Also in PP 1.52, HJ 1.18, HS 1.17, HM 1.18, HK 1.19, HH 9.6-7, HC 12.13-4, VCsr VII.8, VCjr VII.1, Śto 20.9-10, GP 1.109.14, Ujjvaladatta's commentary on *Uṇādisūtra* (Jīvānanda ed.) 4.138, ŚKDr *ad* नखिन्, SuM B after 23.48, SRHt 135.18 and 195.95, Sar 33.48, SRBh 154.79, IS 3214, VP 9.3. Also found in TK(OJ) 16 & 76, NŚ(OJ) 13.2, Ślt(OJ) 23. Also see SN(P) 52, DhN(P) 239, NM(T) 5.9.

(*a*) न° च न° tr. $CVBn_1$, CVB_1, CVB_2, CVG, CVAh, CVK_1, CVP, CVLd, Cv, CS (नखीनां CSC I, CSC II), CNŚJ, CNSS, CNŚlC, CNŚCV, CNŚB, CNŚA, CNŚ, CNNA, CNNS, CNS, CNNSA, CNŚL, CNŚlV, CNŚlPK, CNPh, CNI I, CNG, CNL, CNŚlB, CNR, GP, Q in VCsr, PPGKR in VCjr; नदीनां शस्त्रपाणीनां $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, H; नदीनां नखिनां चैव CR (CRC, CRT as above) M in VCsr, Ś in VCjr, SRBh; शस्त्रपाणीनां [च . . .] CNNS, CNW.

(*b*) नखिनां शृङ्गिणां तथा $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CNNS, CNW, H; नखिनां श° IS; शस्त्रधारिणां CNSS, CNŚlB, CNŚA, CNŚlV, PP, ME in VCsr.

(*c*) आश्वासो CRP, CRBh I, CRCa I, Ś in VCjr; नोपगन्तव्यः PP, VQ in VCsr.

(*d*) स्त्रीणां CvGt; °कुलस्य CvGt; °कुलेष्वपि CR (CRC, CRCa I, CRT as above).

268. CS 3.66.

(*c*) ज्ञाति° CSJ.

उन्मत्तानां भुजङ्गानां मद्यपानां च दन्तिनाम् ।
स्त्रीणां राजकुलानां च विश्वसन्ति गतायुषः ॥ २६९ ॥

शास्त्रं सुचिन्तितमपि प्रतिचिन्तनीयम्
आराधितोऽपि नृपतिः परिशङ्कनीयः ।
अङ्के स्थितापि युवतिः परिरक्षणीया
शास्त्रे नृपे च युवतौ वशतावसन्ना ॥ २७० ॥

अग्निरापः स्त्रियो मूर्खाः सर्पा राजकुलानि च ।
नित्यं यत्नेन सेव्यानि सद्यः प्राणहराणि षट् ॥ २७१ ॥

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269. CS 1.7.
Also in IS 1268, Kk 5. Also see SRN(T) 167.
(*b*) हस्तिनाम् [द°] CSC II.
(*d*) विश्वसेयुर् Kk.

270. CNW 65. Also CnT II 30.10, CnT VII 97.
Also in HH 99.21-4, *ad* HS 110.18, VāY 2, ṢR 1, VCbr II.19, SV 2926, SRBh 176.962, SuM 20.13, IS 6443, Subh 101 & 136, in ŚKDr *ad* परिशङ्कनीयः (ascribed to Udbhaṭa). Also see Ślt(OJ) 61.
(*a*) सुनिश्चलधिया VāY, SRBh; सुनिश्चितधिया परिचि° SV; सुनिश्चितधियापि हि IS; परिचि° VC, SRBh.
(*b*) स्वाराधितो VāY; सेव्यो नृपोऽपि सततं परिसेवनीयः SRBh; संसेवितो IS; °धितो नरप° HS; प्रतिशङ्कनीयः HS.
(*c*) आत्मीकृतापि SV; युवती CNW; परिशङ्कनीया HS.
(*d*) नृपेषु IS; च कुतः स्थिरत्वम् VC, HS, ṢR, VāY, SV, SRBh.
Vasantatilakā metre.

271. CV 14.12, Cv 5.19, CS 3.94. CR " S ". Also CNN 65, CNP II 144, CNI I 112, CNT IV 117, CNM 114, CNMN 81, CPS 188.31 & 320.10.
Also in GP 1.114.13, SuM 23.45, IS 64, Subh 98. Also found in LN(P) 125, DhN(P) 209, NKy(B) 153, NM(T) 5.10.
(*a*) मूर्खः CVAh, CVB_2, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVK_1, CRC, CRT, CPS, GPy.

अत्यासन्ना विनाशाय दूरस्था न फलप्रदाः ।
सेव्यतां मध्यभागेन राजा वह्निर्गुरुः स्त्रियः ॥ २७२ ॥

सुहृदामुपकारकारणाद्
द्विषतामप्यपकारकारणात् ।
नृपसंश्रय इष्यते बुधै-
र्जठरं को न बिभर्ति केवलम् ॥ २७३ ॥

(*b*) सर्पो CVB_1, CVB_2, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_2$, $CVBn_3$, CVAh, CVK_1, CVLd, CNI I, CvTb; सेना CRC, CRT, CPS 188; राजकुलं तथा CR, CvTb 3.15, CRC, CRBh II, CPS 188.

(*c*) नित्यसेवोपचारेण CSLd, CSB I, CSC I, CSC II, CSJ, CSB II; परोप° [य°] GP; यत्नोपसे° CvP IV, CvTb 5.20; सेव्यन्ते CNN, CNM, CvTb; संयोगसेवनाभ्यां च (°नादेव CRBh II) CR, CPS.

272. CV 14.11, CR 7.9. Also CNT IV 116, CNM 113, CPS 332.4.

Also in ŚP 1380, SRBh 156.124, IS 176, Subh 181 & 199.

(*b*) दूरतश्चा° ŚP; अफल° [न फ°] CRBh II.

(*c*) सेव्यन्ते CNM, ŚP, CVG, IS; सेव्या मध्यमभावेन IS, CR, $CVBn_1$, $CVBn_3$, CVB_1, ŚP; मध्यादुपायेन CRCa I.

(*d*) राजवह्निगुरु° $CVBn_2$, CVK_1, CRBh I, CRP; गु° स्त्रि° tr. CRBh I.

273. CRT 8.18, CvL I 8.43.

Also in HJ 2.33, HS 2.34, HM 2.35, HK 2.35, HP. 2.31, HN 2.31, HH 45.21-2, HC 60.15-6, PP 1.9, Pts 1.22, PtsK 1.27, PRE 1.7, PT 1.6, PTem 1.3, PN 2.5, PS 1.8, SRBh 151.384, SV 2898, SRK 122.5, IS 7149.

(*b*) द्विषतां चाप्य° PP, Pts.

Viyoginī metre.

गुरुश्छाया पिता छाया छाया ज्येष्ठश्च बान्धवाः ।
छाया राजसु संमानमेताश्छायाः सुदुर्लभाः ॥ २७४ ॥
रिक्तपाणिर्न पश्येत राजानं देवतां गुरुम् ।
नैमित्तिकं च वैद्यं च फलेन फलमादिशेत् ॥ २७५ ॥
देवो राजा गुरुर्भार्या वैद्यनक्षत्रपाठकाः ।
रिक्तहस्ता न गच्छन्ति गते कार्यं न सिध्यति ॥ २७६ ॥

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274. CL 1.11.
Also in CM 54.

(*b*) मित्रसुबा° CLLd.
(*c*) छाया च राजसंमानं CLLd; सुच्छाया राज° CLA, CLL I; राज्ञश्च CLṢ; सन्मान CLTb.

275. CNG 305, CNI I 36, CNT IV 244.
Also in Śto 331.31-2, VCsr 7.8; (cf. Vet Introd. 10, PT *ad* 152.1, VCsr 7.9), IS 5786, Subh 265.

(*a*) °हस्तेन नोपेयाद् MN in VC; नो J in VC; पश्यन्ति Q in VC; पश्येत् तु T in VC; पश्येद् J in VC.
(*b*) दैवतं VC (VJQ as above).
(*c*) नैमित्तकं CNI I; नैमित्तिककलाचार्यः Subh; विशेषेण [च वै° च] CNI I, VC, Subh.
(*d*) आदिशत् M in VC.

276. CNW 88, CNPN 68.
Also in SRBh 387.411, IS 2957.

(*b*) वैद्यो न° CNPN; °पाठकः CNPN.
(*c*) रिक्तहस्ते न गन्तव्यं CNPN.

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